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AMANDA BERRY SMITH

From Washerwoman to Evangelist

ADRIENNE M. ISRAEL

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Amanda Berry Smith

From Washerwoman to Evangelist

Adrienne M. Israel

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To my husband, Minister Martin Israel;
my parents, Walter and
Mercedes Preacley;
and my pastor, Bishop Ithiel Clemmons

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Editors' Foreword

In the years following the American Civil War (1865 and following) former slave and washerwoman Amanda Berry Smith achieved international acclaim as a holiness preacher and founder of one of the first orphanages for African American children in Chicago. Her success on the pulpit circuit and in social service circles during her lifetime did not earn her a permanent place in the history books of her denomination, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, or of her nation's history generally.

Until now Smith has been known largely through her sketchy 1893 autobiography, twice reprinted in the last decade. In this study Adrienne Israel presents the first comprehensive study of Smith's life and ministry from her birth in 1837 to her death in 1915. Israel's richly detailed study makes a significant contribution to scholarly understanding of the role of black women in America's church and culture, black and white, in the late Victorian period. This biography celebrates the journey of a self-avowed practicing evangelical who refused to fit into stereotyped expectations of women and who confronted many of the issues so important in contemporary church life.

Donald W. Dayton and Kenneth E. Rowe

Acknowledgments

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Chronology

1837	Born a slave in Long Green, Md.
1845	Moved to York County, Pa.
1854	Married Calvin Devine.
1856	Converted to Christianity.
1865	Married James Smith; moved to New York City.
1868	Sanctified at Green Street ME Church in New York.
1869	Husband, James Smith, died.
1870	Preached first sermon at Salem, N.J., AME Church.
1875	Joined the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
1878	Attended Keswick Convention in England.
1879	Joined Methodist missionary W.B. Osborn in India.
1882	Sailed to Liberia to begin temperance work.
1890	Returned to the United States.
1893	Moved to Chicago; published autobiography.
1899	Opened Amanda Smith Orphan Home and Industrial School, Harvey, Ill.
1906	Graduated, Grace Church Deaconess School, Chicago.
1912	Retired from Home; moved to Sebring, Fla.
1915	Died in Sebring, Florida; buried in Homewood, Ill.

Introduction

Standing nearly six feet tall, a dark-brown-skinned woman with a commanding presence and disarming smile stepped into the pulpit. Dressed simply in plain style fashioned after the Quakers, with a modest bonnet set far back on her head, she carefully set aside her handkerchief and gloves, removed a Bible and hymn book from her black handbag, and peered through round, horn-rimmed glasses at the expectant throng waiting eagerly for her to speak. A reporter thought she looked out of place, for in the late nineteenth century few women of color addressed white audiences, and fewer still preached at white churches. But this black woman with a deep contralto voice and original, yet natural, style had spoken to thousands of whites over the past twenty-five years. She felt right at home.

Her sense of humor, picturesque speech, passionate singing, and holiness teaching quickly connected her with the assembly at Denver, Colorado's, fashionable Trinity Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church that September evening in 1897. She appealed to the assembly to seek sanctification and to contribute toward the orphan home and industrial school she planned to open in Harvey, Illinois. At sixty-one, a robust and energetic Amanda Berry Smith was traveling throughout the country, singing, preaching, and raising funds.[1]

While a rising tide of white supremacy and tightening grip of racial segregation plunged African-Americans into the nadir of their history, this former slave and washerwoman steadily climbed toward the zenith of a long and colorful career that lasted nearly fifty years. Without official church sanction or financial support, she emerged from obscurity and near destitution to become one of the nineteenth century's most important Christian evangelists. Although nearly every African-American missionary had extensive formal education, this woman, with less than a year of schooling, had worked with the pioneers of Methodist foreign missions

both in India and Africa. Smith was the only female and only black member of the National Holiness Camp Meeting Association, a national evangelist for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), a founding member of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, and lifelong member of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. She earned renown on four continents, bridged the widening gap between the races, and tapped the unfulfilled potential for cooperation across racial lines among evangelical Christians. Uncounted numbers of Africans, Asians, Europeans, and Americans accepted salvation and the "second blessing" of heart purity as an essential part of Christian life through her teaching and preaching.

As an energetic leader of the Holiness Movement, Smith became "one of the heroes of faith, celebrated in holiness folklore by blacks and whites alike throughout segregated America." Contemporaries called her "the singing pilgrim," "a monument of God's wondrous grace, a polished shaft in his quiver, his image 'carved in ebony,'" one whose "clearness of vision and rare degree of spiritual power" had seldom been equaled.[2] One contemporaneous historian listed her among fifteen "prominent Negro preachers," along with Lemuel Haynes, Richard Allen, Alexander Crummel, and Henry Highland Garnett.[3] Another called her one of history's four most important black women and "the greatest of the race in these times (male or female) in Christian service."[4] When she died, the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* carried detailed obituaries as did numerous Christian newspapers.[5] One of them gave this assessment of her life: "Amanda Smith was an outstanding product of her day and generation, a true friend, a noble Christian woman, and a leader in all good works, of whom her people both black and white may well be proud."[6]

Calling her the "race's foremost evangelist," the *Chicago Defender* carried her funeral on its front page, as did the *Baltimore Afro-American Ledger*. The WCTU newspaper published a brief obituary noting her contributions to temperance work among "the colored people"; and a subsequent article quoted remarks made at her funeral by Eliza E. Peterson, the WCTU's National Superintendent of Work Among Colored People, who acknowledged that Smith's influence had reached beyond her race.[7]

Smith's success as an evangelist helped persuade Methodist church officials to sanction public ministries for women. The first AME deaconess manual was based on her life, and she contributed to the overall success of the AME deaconess movement.[8] She helped stimulate the sanctified church movement among African-Americans through her

preaching, and her autobiography was required reading in pastoral training for at least one black holiness body in its formative years.[9]

Smith's career developed out of the black religious heritage from the era of slavery, trends among Methodists, the late-nineteenth-century holiness revival, and the temperance movement, all of which either directly or indirectly encouraged public leadership roles for women.

Enslaved Africans in North America turned to both women and men for spiritual advice and prayer. Some enslaved women preached in secret worship services held out of the sight and hearing of plantation owners and other disapproving whites.[10] In the larger society, the Religious Society of Friends (or Quakers) was the only Christian group that permitted women to preach or speak in public until the Great Awakening between 1740 and 1760. During the Great Awakening, a transatlantic evangelical revival engulfed the Protestant churches. Women broke with conventions that had confined them to the home and traditions that forbade them to speak in public. As exhorters, women gained recognition as public speakers; and for the first time, non-Quaker women were allowed to exercise religious authority as deaconesses and eldresses.[11] At the end of the eighteenth century the new climate of religious freedom ushered in another revival era during which Freewill Baptists, Christian Connection, and Methodists allowed women to preach and exhort in even greater numbers than they had during the Great Awakening. The camp meetings and revivals that characterized this new era of evangelical fervor allowed women even more opportunities to speak in public. Between 1800 and 1845, women preachers emerged in significant numbers, especially in the North where they spoke from pulpits on Sunday morning and during camp meetings. Freewill Baptists, Christian Connection churches, and Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist churches in the early nineteenth century accepted women as evangelists, but not as ordained ministers.[12]

From its origins in the late eighteenth century, the AME Church allowed women to preach; and at least three prominent African Methodist "preaching women" paved the way for Smith's public ministry: Jarena Lee, Zilpha Elaw, and Julia Foote. Although none was officially licensed or ordained, all three women pursued public ministries because they believed they were called by God to preach.[13]

Other prominent Methodist women had refused to stop preaching whether ordained by the church or not. In the antebellum period, abolitionist and women's rights advocate Sojourner Truth gained prominence as a preacher in the North, and Methodist lay theologian and holiness pioneer Phoebe Palmer, through her home meetings and writings, helped break

down barriers for later women preachers like Smith.[14]

The late-nineteenth-century holiness revival leaders encouraged women to speak in public and to exercise unprecedented positions of authority in camp meetings and revivals. Male leaders of nineteenth-century religious reform movements tended to support other liberties for women, including suffrage.[15] Because of the holiness, sanctification, and later Pentecostal movements, women gained greater access to public leadership roles in the church, and from the church extended their impetus for reform into the larger society.[16] Two of the late nineteenth century's most effective female reform leaders, Lucretia Mott and Anna Howard Shaw, were ministers; and holiness publications regularly listed at least twenty-three female evangelists.[17]

The Holiness Movement reached a mass audience through camp meetings and revivals, which, by 1875, had become integral components of evangelical church life. Conducted by itinerant preachers, revivals attracted both churchgoers and nonchurchgoers; and many urban churches began to depend on revivals to increase their membership rolls and treasuries. From 1875 to 1915, during what some historians call North America's Third Great Awakening, professional evangelists conducted mass campaigns across the United States and abroad. Their camp meetings and revivals attracted huge crowds, many of whom were drawn by the chance to escape momentarily from the mounting pressures of modern life. The United States was shifting from an agrarian to an industrial economy and from rural to urban-centered lifestyles. Social classes were gradually becoming more clearly defined.[18] Revivals and camp meetings allowed people from all social strata to mix in an egalitarian environment and provided a brief return to a simpler life missed by a new generation torn from their rural roots.

Smith was among the professional revivalists who emerged as part of the popular Christian camp meeting culture. The WCTU, the first national women's organization led solely by women, also benefited from the popularity of camp meetings. In 1874 the WCTU held its first national convention in Cleveland.[19] Smith joined the organization the following year. Beginning in 1875, the WCTU took part in holiness and temperance camp meetings, some of which merged into one large outdoor revival lasting several weeks. Smith became a popular figure at WCTU rallies and spoke from their camp meeting platforms.

Smith's success also derived from her theology, which was consistent with contemporary holiness doctrine. She believed that after conversion the Christian needed a second blessing, called sanctification, to receive

full salvation. To emphasize her life's focus, Smith ended her autobiography by quoting Hebrews 12:14: "Follow peace with all men, and holiness without which no man shall see the Lord." She embraced the contemporary doctrine preached by prominent holiness ministers that sanctification can be an instantaneous experience, rather than an ongoing process.

Like others of spiritual bent, Smith experienced dreams and visions through which she said God communicated his will to her. Charles Edward White has noted how other Methodist women leaders embraced "extra biblical mystical experiences," such as dreams and visions, which, if experienced by previous Methodist female saints, became part of the accepted evidence of faith and God's favor. According to White, Smith's spirituality fell in line with this "benign mysticism running through female Methodism."[20] Far from being an anomaly, Smith was in step with the progressive currents of her time and was one of a small, but significant, group of African-American women whose work as reformers helped bridge the growing chasm between black and white races at the end of the nineteenth century.

In spite of Smith's contemporary fame, after she died she faded into historical obscurity. No historical biography of her has heretofore been written. Until recently, most scholars excluded her from large biographical collections and church histories. Since African-American history has focused primarily on the political struggle against slavery, segregation, and racial discrimination, religious figures are rarely discussed unless they founded new denominations or played a major role in political activism. African-American church history is not only a neglected area of study, but what has been written usually emphasizes male leaders, institution building, or the impact of religion on black political and economic history. With the advancing secular age, current scholars rarely write biographies about individuals whose goals and activities have been mainly spiritual rather than political or social. As a result, the important legacy of such figures as Amanda Smith has been overlooked.

This biographical study offers a glimpse into the life and times of this complex and important woman, who helped nurture a spiritual heritage that has inspired and influenced others more directly concerned with temporal change and has helped sustain a sense of meaning and vitality for those who are dissatisfied with the material focus of the modern world.

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Chapter One

Born of the Spirit: 1837-1865

On the perilous boundaries between bondage and freedom in northern Maryland and southeastern Pennsylvania, Amanda Jane Berry grew to young womanhood in the two stormy decades before the Civil War. As she wrestled with deep spiritual yearnings and painful inner conflicts, she acquired an uncompromising hatred of slavery, a sense of duty and loyalty to her race, and an admiration and fear of the wealthy, often powerful, white people who wielded profound influence over her life even before she was born.

Sometime between 1820 and 1825, Darby Ensor bought Amanda's father, Samuel Berry. Nearly a hundred years earlier, Darby's father, George Ensor Sr., had migrated from Edensor parish in Derby County, England, settled in Maryland, and in 1739 married English immigrant Elizabeth Reeves. In 1740, their first son, George Jr., was born and the following year a daughter, Rachel. In 1743, they had their second son, Darby. Before George Ensor Sr. died in 1771, he had fathered eight children, four sons and four daughters. George Jr. inherited the largest share of his father's estate, a prosperous tract called Spring Garden. Darby inherited Vineland, a modest stretch compared with his older brother's.[1]

In 1794 when he was 51, Darby bought a thirty-two acre tract called Grindle near Long Green, Maryland, about twelve miles north of Baltimore. Called the "garden spot" of the region, Long Green overlooks picturesque Dulaney and Long Green Valleys. By 1798, Darby held 368 acres valued at $769, a house worth $30, and two slaves.[2]

At the turn of the century when Maryland's economy shifted from tobacco to food production, many Baltimore County farmers turned from plantation agriculture to dairy and produce farming. As a result, large slaveholdings became a financial burden, and farmers sold their slaves

along with fresh meats, vegetables, fruit, and dairy products in Baltimore's thriving open markets. Between 1830 and 1840 about thirty thousand slaves left Maryland for southern markets as big plantations opened in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The rate of slave sales may even account for Baltimore County's population decline between 1830 and 1840.[3]

While others may have been selling their human chattel, sometime between 1800 and 1825, Darby Ensor bought Sam Berry. In 1825 when Darby died, his children inherited his estate. A third went to his eldest son, George, and a sixth to each of his three daughters and son-in-law, Luke Gorsuch Ensor, who may have been a distant cousin. Darby's daughter, Rachel, inherited Sam Berry. In 1827, Rachel married Luke B. Ensor, a possible distant cousin of Luke G. Ensor, her sister Sarah's husband. In less than two years an estranged Luke and Rachel were involved in a court battle over the property she had inherited from her father. The land had been declared insolvent, and Rachel wanted to sell it and use the proceeds to support herself and their infant son. Luke wanted the court to give whatever money came out of the sale to him. The court ruled in Rachel's favor, but Luke either bought or simply claimed Sam Berry as his slave.[4] By 1850, Luke and his second wife, Neomi, had acquired as much property as his estranged in-laws.[5]

Sometime between 1830 and 1837, when Sam Berry was about thirty, he married Miriam Matthews, an enslaved woman who lived with her mother on a nearby dairy farm owned by Shadrach Green, one of the area's largest slave owners. Between 1790 and 1798 Green had owned only five or six slaves, but between 1810 and 1840, when many Maryland slave owners were freeing or selling their slaves, Green added more. In 1820 his household included three sons and four daughters, thirteen slaves, and eight free blacks who lived alongside his slaves. Owning thirteen slaves made Green a substantial slave owner by local standards, for in 1830 relatively few farmers in northern Maryland owned more than two slaves.[6]

Although Miriam Matthews married Sam Berry, she remained on the Green farm while her husband continued living on Luke Ensor's land, working alongside his owner and driving his produce to market in Baltimore. The Berrys named their first son Thomas Talbot Berry, giving him the name of a prominent local white man, Thomas Talbot Gorsuch, whose father, Thomas Sr., had married a sister of John Ensor, a wealthy tobacco farmer and one of Maryland's first white settlers.[7] The Gorsuch family and the descendants of John Ensor became prominent merchants and political leaders in the Baltimore area. By naming their first son after

this prominent white man, the Berrys expressed their psychological ties to the rich and powerful people around them, even those like the Gorsuchs and Ensors who owned slaves.

On January 23, 1837, Miriam gave birth to their first daughter, Amanda Jane. Shadrach Green died in 1815, and the year Amanda was born part of his land was acquired from his wife and heirs to build the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad.[8] His widow was executrix of his estate, and his surviving children included five married daughters, two sons, and two unmarried daughters.[9]

According to Amanda's recollections of her childhood, she was pampered by Shadrach's widow, Rachel, her "old mistress" who protected her from being punished by her mother and often treated her with bread spread with butter and sugar.[10] The Green family women dressed her like their own children and took her with them to the Presbyterian church they attended. She sometimes wore Quaker-styled clothing also worn by Rachel Green. While her father worked late into the night making brooms to sell in Baltimore because he planned to buy his and his family's freedom, Amanda experienced few of the harsh realities of slavery. Although it was unknown at the time to Amanda, her parents probably realized that the Greens planned to give her and her brother to their daughter as part of a dowry.[11] The close attachment to whites and unbending opposition to racial inequality that later shaped her public life began to emerge during her early childhood when her owners treated her both as a member of the family and expendable property, while her parents demonstrated both respect for their owners and an enduring hatred of slavery.

Uneasy Freedom

After Sam bought his own freedom, he asked the Greens to allow him to buy his family's freedom. At first they refused. At any rate, Maryland law restricted manumissions, and technically slave owners were required to get permission from the state legislature before freeing their slaves under any circumstances.[12] Amanda's grandmother began to pray because the families to which the children would have gone were not considered "good masters" by the area's black population as the Greens and Ensors were.[13] Meanwhile, one of Green's daughters attended a camp meeting where she was converted. A few days later she fell ill, and on her deathbed asked her mother to free the Berry family. Rachel Green reluctantly agreed.

Despite an 1832 state law forbidding manumitted slaves from remaining in the state, in 1840 Sam Berry, his wife, and four children lived

as "free colored people" on Luke B. Ensor's land, where they had their own house, pigs, chickens, and turkeys and tended a garden.[14] Smith recalled that they always had enough to eat and to wear because her father worked for others besides Ensor, and her mother took in washing to earn an income.[15]

Like most free blacks in rural Maryland, the Berrys lived in close proximity to whites, developing a relationship that protected them from reenslavement and ensured their former owner dependable labor. If a freedman or any other black man could not prove he had means of support, he could be sold into slavery for the rest of the year.[16] In addition, the slaveholding states tried to prevent former and current slaves from forming large, concentrated communities where they could freely mix and organize revolts. As a result, most of Maryland's ex-slaves, like the Berrys, lived in rural areas on land owned by whites, where they did the hardest farm work for the lowest wages.

By 1810 over a quarter of the black population in Maryland was free, especially those who had been house servants, artisans, and foremen. Between 1810 and 1864, Maryland had the largest free black population in the country, a situation that created intense competition for work between white and black men. In Baltimore free black men worked as ship carpenters, brick masons, coopers, and shoemakers; and before the Civil War nearly all the city's barbers and ship caulkers were black. By 1860 Baltimore had the largest urban black population in the nation.[17]

As the number of free blacks increased, Maryland imposed increasingly severe economic and social restrictions on them. The courts enacted stiffer sentences against them than against whites for the same crimes. Black farmers could not sell corn, wheat, tobacco, bacon, beef, pork, oats, or rye without an annually renewable license. They could not hold meetings without white supervision. Barred from voting, from serving on juries, and from testifying against white people in court, free blacks in slave states rarely experienced even the semblance of equality. In Maryland, they could only travel out of state with a white sponsor's written permission and could stay away no more than ten days. In 1842, Maryland slave owners drafted a set of legal proposals to bar blacks from acquiring land except under short-term leases, to control their family and religious life, and to further restrict their travel. As white immigrants poured into the country in the 1840s and 50s, they forced black men out of many occupations that they had dominated. Precariously surviving on the margins of society, if a free black person violated any of this myriad of restrictive laws, he or she could be reenslaved.[18]

In spite of this threatening climate, Sam Berry traveled north to Pennsylvania to visit one of his brothers who had escaped from slavery. When he failed to return within ten days, an alarm went up in the Long Green area. Local whites warned Luke that if he failed to punish Sam for violating the law, other free blacks would follow his example.[19] When Sam Berry returned home and heard about the impending calamity, he moved his family north along the turnpike road to Shrewsbury Township in York County, Pennsylvania, where they could live in relative safety in a state that had abolished slavery.

York County

York County, Pennsylvania, like Baltimore County, is hilly, well-watered, lush, and peaceful farmland dotted with fertile valleys that are fed by numerous streams. Located west of the Susquehanna River, it was connected to the outside world in the early 1800s by the Northern Central Railroad and the Baltimore-York Turnpike.[20] So many runaway slaves crossed state lines to freedom in Pennsylvania that Maryland slave owners considered their northern neighbor a threat to their stability. The majority of all fugitive slaves passed over into free territory either in southeastern Pennsylvania or southern Ohio. In 1850 twelve Baltimore County slave owners reported fifty-four runaway slaves before the end of spring. Before the year's end, 379 fugitives fled the state, nearly all of them escaping across the border to Pennsylvania.[21] The free black population was concentrated in the six counties adjacent to the Maryland border: Philadelphia, York, Cumberland, Bucks, Lancaster, and Chester. Most lived in or near the main towns in York and Lancaster counties: W-estchester, Columbia, Lancaster, York, and Gettysburg.[22]

Pennsylvania may have welcomed runaway slaves, but it presented two sides to the black migrants who settled there. On the one hand, Pennsylvanians encouraged militant antislavery resistance. On the other hand they refused to enfranchise blacks or grant them legal equality. In June of 1847 a group of blacks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, beat a slave owner to death when he tried to claim two families who had escaped to Pennsylvania. That same year a crowd nearly beat to death a slave owner who had won the right in court to return two women to slavery. As he attempted to take them away, angry proslavery and antislavery mobs threatened to turn this region just west of Harrisburg into a cauldron of violence. When new federal fugitive slave laws declared that no runaway slave was legally free anywhere in the United States, black protestors in Pennsylvania appeared,

"ready to rally in mobs and rescue runaways at the cost of any violence."[23] While the state allowed resistance to slavery, white Pennsylvanians often showed open hostility toward blacks.

In the early 1700s when the black population doubled from 2,500 to 5,000, angry white laborers petitioned the Assembly to stop employers from hiring black workers. Slaves labored for less because their owners hired them out and kept the wages for themselves.[24] Most Pennsylvania slave owners had very few bondsmen, perhaps one or two house servants or farmhands, but Pennsylvania slaves worked in occupations very desirable to whites. Enslaved males were bakers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, coopers, distillers, refiners, sail-makers, sailors, shoemakers, tanners, and tailors, among other trades. Many worked in iron furnaces. With slaves employed in these occupations, wages for free workers could be kept low.

In 1790, when Pennsylvania abolished slavery through a gradual plan of attrition, black workers were generally relegated to the lowest paying labor jobs regardless of their experience or ability. As a result, most black Pennsylvanians remained poor. The poorest of the poor lived in Philadelphia, many at starvation levels in forbidding urban squalor. The few families at the top of black society that could afford a few comforts were "well-to-do" by white standards but considered wealthy men in their communities. They owned their own houses, paid taxes, and built and supported black schools and churches.

By the 1800s most of the black elite were second-generation Pennsylvanians. They, and those right below them, often resented the influx of newly freed southern migrants, often of darker complexion, who settled in Pennsylvania to escape the tightening grip of slavery as the country moved closer to war.[25] Some of the older black residents even excluded newcomers from their churches. After Pennsylvania abolished slavery, former slave owners helped the ex-slaves who had formerly attended white churches to build their own churches. Bethel AME Church was erected in Westchester in 1816, and black Methodists in Lancaster built Bethel Meeting House in 1821. An AME church was established in Gettysburg in the 1820s. The leading families in the new black churches limited membership to those whom they approved, which meant they could, and sometimes did, effectively block the membership of less affluent, less well-established immigrants whom they looked down upon. Consequently, the newcomers often formed their own churches.[26]

Many of the older black elite distanced themselves from ex-slaves because the new migrants stirred up white intolerance. In fact, many white

Pennsylvanians viewed the new black residents from the south, whether legally free or fugitive, as a dangerous, lazy, criminal element much different from the blacks who had been born in Pennsylvania. The press and other minions of power generally associated black people with crime, claiming that emancipation and the influx of fugitives from slavery had worsened the character of the state's black residents. By the 1820s the press claimed that black immigrants had made the streets of Philadelphia "unsafe by day and dangerous by night" and accused black communities of shielding their criminals. Whites even complained that the new black churches were a neighborhood nuisance because of their "noise and disorder." On several occasions, white mobs attempted to force blacks out of Pennsylvania.[27]

Because of the increasing threat of white violence, blacks in Pennsylvania attempted to put aside their differences and unite in protest against their deteriorating conditions. In 1841 they launched the Convention Movement, a series of protest meetings held in Philadelphia. The first Convention passed a resolution denouncing the disenfranchisement of Pennsylvania blacks. As the movement gained momentum they organized a drive to win complete citizenship, including protection for free blacks traveling in slave states. In 1857 the Convention met to denounce the Dred Scott decision in which the United States Supreme Court affirmed that neither traveling to, nor escaping to, the North changed the legal status of a slave.

Underground Railroad

African-Americans in Pennsylvania who had experienced slavery themselves developed and sustained the main lines of escape to freedom on the Underground Railroad. New immigrants like the Berrys maintained close ties with friends and family still in bondage and attempted to build unity between those blacks who were nominally free and those who were still enslaved.[28] This unity was not only the backbone of the Underground Railroad, but also sustained the strong self-help tradition of free black people in southeastern Pennsylvania. By the 1830s free blacks in Columbia, Gettysburg, and York had formed refugee societies to protect fugitives from reenslavement. Historians estimate that in the 1840s nearly half the area's black population belonged to self-help and mutual aid organizations, and the area's black churches helped settle fugitive slaves or move them on to safer territory.[29]

Pennsylvania Quakers largely created the state's antislavery image,

even though in the early colonial period, Quakers comprised the majority of southeastern Pennsylvania's slave owners. By 1729, a thousand Quaker families had settled in Lancaster County and had built eleven meeting houses.[30] In the 1750s the Yearly Meeting condemned slavery, and visiting committees freed their slaves and went out to persuade others to do the same. As a result, the Quakers in southeastern Pennsylvania became part of the white vanguard of abolitionism, resettling slaves freed by other Quakers and actively supporting the Underground Railroad. Although the majority of Quakers failed to protest against slavery or to help fugitives escape to freedom, an activist militant minority gave the entire group a vigorous abolitionist image.[31]

Pennsylvania's most militant abolitionists, free blacks, Quakers, Methodists, and Presbyterians, lived in Lancaster and York counties, a hub of the Underground Railroad. Free blacks in Columbia, York, and Gettysburg had formed "slave self-protection and refugee societies" by the 1830s to receive escaped slaves and fight the slave catchers who roamed the borderlands.[32]

Local historians even claim that the term Underground Railroad originated in Columbia, a Lancaster County town. In 1804, when a fugitive slave was kidnapped by slave catchers in Columbia, William Wright, grandson of one of the county's first Quaker settlers, vowed to protect runaways from the bounty hunters who roamed the Pennsylvania countryside. As a result of Wright's efforts, perplexed slave catchers, unable to explain the apparent disappearance of runaways in Lancaster County, coined the term Underground Railroad to explain their disappearance. According to another account, the term originated with William C. Goodridge, whose mother was an enslaved woman and whose father was her owner, a prominent white Baltimore physician. His father sent him to the town of York as an apprentice and on to Philadelphia to learn barbering. He returned to York and bought several railroad cars, and by 1830 he had thirteen cars making regular trips between York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Goodridge became one of York's leading abolitionists, often hiding fugitive slaves in his railroad cars and sometimes in his home and office.[33] Whatever the origin of the term, the Underground Railroad thrived in York and Lancaster counties.

Freed slaves expelled from Virginia and Maryland regularly settled in York County. Some found work for the lumber merchants on the Susquehanna River, but most worked as farm laborers.[34] As part of a plan to settle in Pennsylvania all former slaves that had been owned by Quakers, Virginia Quaker Isaac Mendenhall directed slaves to York

County. In 1827, a colony of freed blacks settled in Carlisle and Columbia, and another group of sixty-five arrived in York County. Fifty-two of them had been freed by their owners and thirteen had apparently escaped. Since Virginia law forbade freed slaves from remaining in the state, they had moved to Pennsylvania to seek employment. They so desperately wanted to remain free that they lived out-of-doors on the "commons" with no shelter.[35]

But even though York County provided a haven for ex-slaves, it also harshly retaliated against black revolt. In 1803, local authorities uncovered an apparent plot by local blacks to avenge the imprisonment of Margaret Bradley, a black woman sentenced to four years in a Philadelphia jail after being convicted for attempting to poison two white women. Within eight days of Bradley's conviction, five fires broke out in the town of York, destroying a stable and the Academy building. Twenty-one black and mulatto defendants stood trial. Four pleaded guilty and four not guilty. The pleas of the rest are unknown. Two of those found guilty were hanged. Five served twelve years at hard labor.[36] The incident illustrated not only the determination of local authorities to suppress black revolt, but also the militant mood of African-Americans in York County.

In the early 1840s, when the Berrys settled in York County, nearly everyone in Shrewsbury Township [about 1,659 people] either farmed or worked in supporting occupations. About half the population owned land, and all the township's black men were laborers.[37] One of the original townships in York County, Shrewsbury was settled by English Quakers and Scotch-Irish, followed by Germans, who eventually became the majority.

Shrewsbury

The town of Shrewsbury was originally named Strasburg, German for "a village by the road or street" but when it became the area's main town, it changed its name to Shrewsbury to be consistent with the township name. A small commercial town with strong religious sentiment, Shrewsbury was heavily influenced by the evangelical movement. In 1811, the Evangelical Association established the first regular preaching in the township. Methodists and Evangelicals shared the first church building in the area, a small log house built in 1821 as a Union Church.[38] When the Berrys arrived, about four hundred people lived in the town of Shrewsbury, which was by then a thriving village.[39]

Sam Berry settled his family on a farm owned by John Lowe, whom

Smith described as a wealthy farmer. Berry and his sons worked for Lowe as farm laborers while his wife and oldest daughter, Amanda, did domestic work. By 1850, the Berry family included nine children: Amanda and her older brother, William Talbot; sisters Catherine, Sarah Ann, Susan, Mary Frances, and Esther; and younger brothers Samuel Grafton and Joseph.

At that time, forty-two black people officially lived in Shrewsbury township, about 2.5 percent of the population, widely dispersed among the white population and relatively isolated from each other. Only four black families lived in the township: the Berrys, the Rainbows, the Shaws, and the Meyers. There were two single black people living as domestics with white families.[40] The Berrys' nearest friends, the Rainbows, migrated from New York. Headed by seventy-five-year-old Moses Rainbow, their family included Mary Wilson, thirty-three, who may have been Moses Rainbow's daughter; children ranging in ages approximate to the Berrys: Agnes, nineteen, and Samuel, fifteen; and Mary Wilson's five children, whose ages varied from nine to three.[41]

During the twelve years they lived on Lowe's land, the Berrys courageously hid escaped slaves in their home. According to Smith, her father would often work all day mowing and cradling in the fields, then walk all night taking fugitives to their next hiding place. On one occasion, after slave hunters had broken into their home, beat her father, and terrorized the entire family, her mother mounted a platform in nearby New Market and denounced slavery and slaveholders to the shock of local whites. As Amanda looked on, her mother then defied a local bloodhound, walking by him unafraid. In another incident related in her autobiography, she describes how her father's former owner, Luke Ensor, came to their home looking for a fugitive whom they were hiding. Her parents' fearless confrontations with slavery undoubtedly inspired Smith during her own battles with white supremacy.

When Smith was eight, she and her brother, William Talbot, got their first chance to attend school when staunch abolitionist Isaac Hendricks opened one for black children in his home during the summer months. It was run by Methodist minister Henry Dull and the teacher was his wife, Isabel Dull, whom Amanda described as pretty, kind, and a good friend of her mother's.[42] Even though Hendricks was a longtime resident of Shrewsbury Township, the Dulls had just recently moved there from Montgomery County, and soon after the school opened Henry returned to Montgomery County and Isabel moved on to Philadelphia.[43] When Isabel and Henry left, the school was forced to close, which is the most likely reason for Amanda and her brother only attending the school for six weeks.

Five years later, when Amanda was thirteen, she and her older brother again attempted to attend school. Since there were too few black children in the area to support a school of their own, and Amanda and William Talbot, as well as their parents, were eager for them to get an education, the two children walked five miles each way in winter to attend the white school. After they arrived, the teacher forced them to wait until she had taught all the white children. Then, if she had time, she would teach them. As a result of their suffering in Pennsylvania's bitter winter weather and the chilly reception they received once they arrived, Amanda and William Talbot left school after only two weeks. Since both her parents could read and write, they helped Amanda learn to read at home. Unable to attend school, Amanda left home at thirteen to work as a live-in maid for a Georgia-born woman who had migrated to Shrewsbury.

Since the only other black people within three or four miles of town were the Rainbows, Amanda was isolated from other black people at this crucial stage of her life. She looked for peace of mind in the church, and despite being the only person of color who did so, she began attending meetings at the Methodist Church in Shrewsbury. She recalled that one night Mary Bloser, one of the church members, called her to the altar. Being the only black girl there, she was afraid, but she went anyway and prayed. Afterward she said that "in my heart was peace, but I did not know how to exercise faith as I should."[44] She joined the church and began to attend classes. Her father and mother joined the same church and the same class.

Since the class leader refused to teach her before he had taught all of the white members, she had to wait until everyone else was taught before she got her turn in class. This led to her being late getting Sunday dinner ready for the Latimer children. If she had continued attending the class at church, she might have lost her job. She quit the class. As a result, she said, "I became careless and lost all the grace I had, if I really had any at all."[45]

Marriage

In September 1854, at age seventeen, Amanda married Calvin Devine and moved with him to Columbia in Lancaster county. Since colonial times, freed slaves from Maryland and Virginia had settled in Columbia, and it was a longtime hiding place for runaways. In 1852 the militant antislavery mood of blacks in Columbia had exploded when a policeman from Baltimore arrested a man accused of being a fugitive slave. A crowd of

blacks tried to rescue the man, and in the melee that followed the policeman shot and killed him. Fearing for his life, the policeman traveled all night to reach safety across the Maryland line.[46]

Amid this sweltering political climate, Amanda and Calvin Devine built their short but stormy marriage. They had two children; the first one died and the second one, a daughter named Mazie, survived. Of her first husband, Amanda simply remarked: "He could talk on the subject of religion very sensibly at times; but when strong drink would get the better of him which I am very sorry to say was quite often, then he was very profane and unreasonable."[47]

As a young mother, Amanda paid little attention to spiritual matters until 1855, when she nearly died. Her father, who then lived in Wrightsville, Pennsylvania, came to visit and asked her to pray. Being unconcerned about her soul, she only prayed because the doctor had given her up to die. After praying she fell asleep and dreamed that she was preaching at a camp meeting. After recovering, she decided to convert to Christianity "in my own way, quietly."[48]

One evening while attending a revival at a local Baptist Church, she experienced the personal conflict that would mark her early spiritual life. She believed that she was a morally good, upright woman who had no need to go to pray for forgiveness as others did. She continued attending the revival until one night she was persuaded to come to the altar to pray. She prayed fervently, "O Lord, save me," shouting at the top of her voice. When she quieted down, she said a stillness came over her, which she did not understand, nor did she know how to exercise faith. She recalled once again trying but failing to find peace with God for which she had begun desperately searching.

Basement Conversion

Two years later, in 1856, Amanda got the peace for which she had longed. It happened in the basement of a house owned by a Quaker family for whom she then worked. She had been fasting, reading the Bible, and praying to be converted almost continuously since January. Then on Tuesday, March 17, 1856, in a state of desperation, she cried to God, "If there is any such thing as salvation, I am determined to have it this afternoon or die."[49] She went to the cellar where she said she was prepared to stay and to die if God did not convert her. On her knees in the basement of this house where she worked as a maid, Smith wrote that she looked up and simply prayed, "O, Lord, if Thou wilt help me, I will

believe Thee." At that moment she said she believed and was converted.

In a passage some say indicates that she harbored a sense of shame about her color and expected to turn white at conversion, this is how she described her experience:

> There seemed to be a halo of light all over me; the change was so real and so thorough that I have often said that if I had been as black as ink or as green as grass or as white as snow, I would not have been frightened. I went into the dining room; we had a large mirror that went from the floor to the ceiling, and I went and looked in it to see if anything had transpired in my color, because there was something wonderful had taken place inside of me, and it really seemed to me it was outside too, and as I looked in the glass I cried out, "Hallelujah, I have got religion; glory to God, I have got religion!"[50]

Soon after her daughter, Mazie, was born, sometime between 1856 and 1858, Amanda left Columbia to work in Lancaster as a live-in maid for Colonel Henry McGraw. She remained there four or five years.[51] McGraw, forty-four, an attorney admitted to the bar in 1838, owned an impressive estate, valued between $9,000 and $10,000 in the Wheatland section of Lancaster.[52] He lived there with his wife, Emily, and their four children, Elam, Rebecca, Henry, and Emma. McGraw employed four black women, all of whom lived on his estate with their children. Hannah Brown, age sixty, a native of Pennsylvania, was probably in charge of the younger women: Henrietta Mop, seventeen; Julia Gains, twenty-seven; and Amanda Devine, who was then twenty-three.[53] Since the McGraws had property in Baltimore as well as the Wheatland section of Lancaster, Amanda traveled extensively.

When she moved in with the McGraws in 1860, about seventy-five black people officially lived in the city of Lancaster. Most were laborers who lived among unskilled whites in the southeast section of town. Most of Lancaster's skilled workers were mulattoes, some of whom had accumulated considerable wealth.[54] Joseph Lebas, a mulatto barber, owned real estate valued at $850. Another barber, S. D. Williams, owned $925 worth of property. Stephen Brown, a barber and mulatto, owned $900 worth of property. Another mulatto, George Brown, a seventy-eight-year-old laborer, had $400 worth of real estate. A few of Lancaster's black men were factory hands. The women whose occupations were listed worked as cooks or washerwomen.[55] Lancaster's black community had established an AME Church in 1817, and the city had built a separate school for black students with a night school that had opened by 1840. A local historian expressed the common racial attitudes among whites in the city at that

time: "Our colored folk are fine, hard-working, law-abiding, Christian people; other colored folk are often lazy, intemperate, and quarrelsome. The ordinance that required visiting Negroes to register with the mayor upon arrival is a case in point. . . ."[56]

Although she had been converted, Amanda remained spiritually discontent. She shared her longings for heart purity with other Christians who scoffed at her concerns or warned her that such searching would drive her insane. Undaunted, she pressed on for answers by studying the Bible and fasting, but the hunger remained. She plunged herself into duties that provided some comfort, attending class meetings and prayer meetings and often rising from bed after midnight to visit and pray for someone desperately sick or dying. She spoke before local congregations, even persuading some to be converted. But she herself was inwardly troubled and temporarily gave up her search for spiritual satisfaction. In the meantime, the Civil War disrupted normal life for nearly everyone in the region.[57]

Perils of War

Two years after war erupted, the federal government finally agreed to accept black soldiers. Amanda's husband, Calvin Devine, joined the Union army, went south, and never returned.[58] Because of its proximity to Confederate strongholds and Washington, D. C., Pennsylvania was particularly vulnerable to an invasion, and its black residents continually feared a Confederate attack.

Despite danger to her own life, in September 1862, Amanda went into Maryland to find her sister, Frances, who was then about sixteen. When Frances was ten, she had gone to live with her aunt in Hereford, Maryland. In time, conflict developed, and the aunt regularly and severely beat Frances. News of the beatings got back to her parents, but since the war had broken out, they feared going to Maryland to get her. Meanwhile, Frances ran away. In the years immediately before the war, as pressure mounted against free blacks, all who could not prove they were free were sold into slavery, which was Frances' fate. When Union soldiers were posted on the roads in 1862, Amanda decided to go south and find her sister. Since McGraw paid her only $6 a month, she was forced to borrow $50 from Mrs. McGraw for the trip.

When she arrived in Monkton, Maryland, she learned that Frances had been sold into slavery for ten years. Walking all day without food, Amanda finally found her sister. Since all the Berry children were free,

Frances was being illegally held in bondage, Amanda argued; but her sister's owner refused to let her go. Amanda eventually found a Quaker neighbor, the owner's father-in-law, who persuaded him to relent. Amanda had to pay $40 for her sister's freedom. Since the money she had borrowed was practically gone, Amanda and her sister walked most of the way back to Pennsylvania, which was under the threat of imminent Confederate attack. When they returned safely to Lancaster, the McGraws agreed to allow Frances to live on their estate if Amanda would teach her younger sister how to do housework.[59]

By the summer of 1863 Confederate troops had overrun the town of Gettysburg and threatened the York and Lancaster areas as well. In Wrightsville where Sam Berry lived, and in Columbia, black residents fled the advancing Confederate troops, who were seizing free blacks wherever they could and sending them south to slavery. As the Confederate armies marched toward Harrisburg in the summer of 1863, four companies of local militia tried to defend Wrightsville Bridge, which linked their town to Gettysburg. From Gettysburg another good road led to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's capital city, which the Confederate army hoped to capture and thereby force the Union to sue for peace.[60] Of the four companies that attempted to defend Wrightsville Bridge, only the black company remained and dug earthworks all day. According to local accounts, they managed to fight off the Confederates, who took another route.[61]

Amanda fled to the relative safety of Philadelphia, where she continued working for white families and joined Mother Bethel AME Church.[62] There she enjoyed a sense of community and belonging. Located at Sixth and Lombard Streets, Bethel Church was officially dedicated in 1794 as the first black Methodist congregation in the city. In the mid-nineteenth century most black churchgoers in Philadelphia attended Methodist churches. Others were Baptist, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian. Like others, the black churches were largely divided along socioeconomic lines. St. Thomas Episcopal Church was made up mostly of the relatively well-educated descendants of mulatto house servants, now considered well-to-do. The "great laboring class" of "steady, honest" people with "church and family traditions" made up the bulk of the Bethel AME Church congregation. At the time most black Baptists seemed to have come mainly from the illiterate black population at the poorest end of the economic scale, and black Presbyterians were mainly older people in the same socioeconomic group as the Methodists at Bethel.[63]

Sometime between 1863 and 1865, Amanda Devine met James Smith, a local preacher and deacon at Bethel Church and a member of two

important fraternal organizations, the Prince Hall Masons and Odd Fellows.[64] Born twenty years before Amanda, James was the son of free black parents in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. His father, Solomon Smith, had been born in South Carolina and may have purchased his freedom and moved north or escaped on the Underground Railroad.[65] James was one of at least six children and had received some formal education. By 1850 he was living in Baltimore with his first wife, Henrietta, and their daughter, Mary. While in Baltimore he was choir director at the local Bethel AME Church. A widower by 1863, he moved to Philadelphia and settled on Lombard Street, not far from Bethel Church. A teamster by trade, he was working as a waiter when he and Amanda met.[66]

After they married, Amanda thought her financial worries were over. Her new husband was a preacher who said he had aspirations to be ordained. Although he was then working as a waiter, he had a well-respected, relatively lucrative trade as a teamster and she thought he could earn enough money to help support her and her daughter. More important perhaps, Smith now saw herself as a mature woman who, as a preacher's wife, would be respected and well placed anywhere she went. Before they married, she had told James she "felt it [her] duty to become an evangelist," and expected to lead a life similar to her pastor's wife, who led prayer meetings, visited the sick, and kept a beautiful home for her family. According to Amanda's account, soon after their marriage, James confessed that he had never wanted to be a pastor but had told her he did so that she would marry him. She said she forgave him, but "the remembrance was grievous."

About a year after they married, Amanda gave birth to a girl whom she and James named Nell. Leaving her husband for the summer, Amanda took Nell and Mazie with her to Wheatland, Maryland, where she had accepted a temporary job as a servant on the McGraw farm. During what proved to be a tragic summer, she cooked for the McGraw family and eight farm workers, helped do the washing, did most of the ironing, and took care of her own children. Two months after she arrived in Wheatland, her baby died.[67] Having lost a second child in infancy, Smith returned, heartbroken, to Philadelphia.

Notes

1. Amanda Smith, *An Autobiography: The Story of the Lord's Dealings with Mrs. Amanda Smith, The Colored Evangelist*, 1893 (1st repr., Chicago: Afro-Am Press, Division of Afro-Am Books, 1969), 17. Maryland Historical Society, *Genealogy and Biography of Leading Families of the City of Baltimore and Baltimore County Maryland* (New York: Chapman Publishing Company, 1897), 194. *Americana* (vol. 37, no. 1, 1943), 188. Robert W. Barnes, *Baltimore County Families, 1659-1759* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1989), 205-207. Wilkens and Hayward Files, Wilson's Genealogical Collection, Folder #4 (G5074), Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. Smith spelled the Ensor name Insor, possibly because of her limited education or because this may have been an accepted variation. She also wrote that Darby Ensor, who owned her father, and Shadrach Green, who owned her mother, lived on adjoining farms; however, available records seem to indicate that they lived in the same area but not on adjoining properties.

2. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 917. Land Records, Baltimore County, 1794, folio 67, Maryland Hall of Records (MdHR). Bettie Stirling Carothers, comp., *Maryland Slave Owners and Superintendents 1798* (Lutherville, Md.: n.p., 1974), 23. Federal Tax Records, 1798, Baltimore County, MdHR.

3. James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1632-1860* (192; repr., New York: Octagon Books, 1971), 154-155 and 82-83.

4. "Darby Ensor's Last Will and Testament," 7 January 1825, and a Decree of the Court, 8 May 1830, in *Purviance v. Ensor*, 1829 Chancery Papers, Baltimore County, MdHR. Marriage Index, MdHR. Manumissions, Maryland Court Records, 345, Miscellaneous Court Papers, 31 December 1850, Baltimore City Archives. According to the 1820 U.S. Census, at that time Darby Ensor owned one slave and that one slave was female. If the census was accurate, he must have purchased Samuel Berry at a later date. During slavery, slave owners commonly granted their slaves' freedom long before initiating court proceedings, which may account for Sam Berry's manumission papers being dated in 1850, although he is listed in the 1840 federal census for the state of Maryland as a free colored person, and in the 1850 census as a resident of Pennsylvania, which had abolished slavery by that time.

5. *U.S. Census*, 1850, Baltimore County, Md. According to the census report, Luke B. Ensor, Samuel Berry's former owner, had $9,000 worth of property and Luke G. Ensor, who had married Darby's daughter Sarah, owned $9,500 worth of property.

6. Smith, *Autobiography*, 17. *U.S. Census*, Maryland, 1790. Carothers, 30.Since slave marriages were not officially recorded, and the author did not find a family Bible or other such records, the exact date of the Berry wedding could not be determined. Although Amanda Smith wrote in her autobiography that neither Ensor nor Green owned as many slaves as others in their neighborhood, records indicate that Green owned more slaves than average for the general area.

7.*Americana* (1943), 189-191. The records are ambiguous as to whether this John Ensor was related to Darby Ensor's father, George Sr. Genealogists are not sure whether John Ensor was related to George Ensor.

8. Land Records, Baltimore County, 1837, CR233, Shadrach Green, no. 268, folio 503, MdHR.

9. Annie Walker Burns, ed., *Abstract of Wills of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1819-1824*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: n.d.), 107 and 483.

10. Smith, *Autobiography*, 22.

11. Smith, *Autobiography*, 19-22.

12. Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 140.

13. Smith, *Autobiography*, 19-23.

14. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 139. *U.S. Census*, Maryland, Names of Heads of Family, 1840.

15. Smith, *Autobiography*, 25.

16. Wright, *The Free Negro*, 100-101.

17. Ira Berlin, "Structure of the Free Negro Caste in the Antebellum United States," *Journal of Social History* (Spring 1976): 304. Ralph Clayton, *Black Baltimore: 1820-1870* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1987), 2. Wright, *The Free Negro*, 154-155. Berlin, *Slaves without Masters*, 179-181.

18. Ralph Clayton, *Black Baltimore*, 2. Wright, *The Free Negro*, 101. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 210-211 and 307.

19. Smith, *Autobiography*, 25.

20. John Gibson, ed., *History of York County* (Chicago: F. A. Battey Publishing Co., 1886), 705.

21. Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson, Md.: Friends of Towson Library, 1979), 229. *History and Statistics of the State of Maryland, According to the Returns of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C.: Gideon & Co., 1852), 35.

22. In the early 1700s Gettysburg was part of York County. Later Adams County was formed out of York County. See John Gibson, ed., *History of York County* (1886), 301-302.

23. Edward R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania: 1639-1861* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1911), 243.

24. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, 5.

25. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, 127.

26. Carl D. Oblinger, "Negro Communities in Southeastern Pennsylvania Towns: The Formative Period, 1780-1860," unpublished manuscript, 1971, Afro-American Box, file 630, Historical Society of York County, 24-25. For a more

complete discussion see Oblinger, "New Freedoms, Old Miseries: The Emergence and Disruption of Black Communities in Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1780-1860" (Ph.D. diss., Lehigh University, 1988).

27. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania,* 155 and 161.

28. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania,* 139. Berlin, *Slaves without Masters,* 280-285.

29. Charles L. Blockson, *The Underground Railroad* (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1987; repr., Berkeley trade paperback edition, 1994), 82 and 203-204.

30. J. I. Mombert, *An Authentic History of Lancaster County, in the State of Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa.: J. E. Barr & Co., 1869), 432.

31. Blockson, *Underground Railroad,* 205.

32. *Ibid.,* 82.

33. Untitled manuscript, York County Historical Society, file 630, n.d.

34. Gibson, *York County,* 497-499.

35. Letter to the *York Recorder,* 26 June 1827, Afro-American file, box 630, Historical Society of York County.

36. Afro-American Box, file 630, Historical Society of York County.

37. *U.S. Census,* 1850, Pennsylvania, York County, Shrewsbury Township.

38. Gibson, *York County,* 301-302, 704-705, and 707-709.

39. I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties* (Lancaster, Pa.: Gilbert Hills, 1845), 728.

40. *U.S. Census,* 1850, Pennsylvania, York County, Shrewsbury Township. Amanda's age is incorrectly listed as 18 in the 1850 census. If she were 18 in 1850, she would have been born in 1832. All subsequent census records are consistent with her account that she was born in 1837. There were probably many other blacks in the township who, as fugitives from slavery, eluded census takers.

41. Smith, *Autobiography,* 25.

42. Smith, *Autobiography,* 26-37.

43. *U.S. Census,* 1840 and 1850, Pennsylvania Index.

44. Smith, *Autobiography,* 26-28.

45. Smith, *Autobiography,* 29.

46. Smith, *Autobiography.,* 42. Devine may have been a fugitive from slavery since neither he, or any other black Devines appear in census reports, even with other spellings such as Devin or Divin or Divine. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania,* 13, 240, and 243.

47. Smith, *Autobiography,* 42.

48. Smith, *Autobiography,* 43.

49. Smith, *Autobriography,* 47.

50. Smith, *Autobiography,* 47.

51. Smith, *Autobiography,* 47.

52. Mombert, *Lancaster County,* 432.

53. *U.S. Census,* 1860, Pennsylvania, Lancaster (City).

54. Because of its derivation, the term *mulatto* has fallen out of current use. In census records, persons of black and white or "mixed race" parentage were listed as *mulatto,* which was generally acceptable in the nineteenth and for most

of the twentieth century.

55. *U.S. Census*, 1860, Pennsylvania, Lancaster (City).

56. John Ward Wilson Loose, *The Heritage of Lancaster* (Woodland Hills, Calif.: Wendsor Publications, Inc., 1978), 77.

57. Smith, *Autobiography*, 86-90.

58. Smith, *Autobiography,* 57.

59. Smith, *Autobiography*, 50-51 and 53.

60. Rupp, *History*, 724. Untitled manuscript, Afro-American Box, file 630, York County Historical Society.

61. Untitled manuscript, Afro-American Box, file 630, York County Historical Society.

62. Mother Bethel AME Church Records, 1760-1874, Membership Lists, 10 April 1865, class #16; Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Big Bethel, the first African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, was later renamed Mother Bethel.

63. Marion L. Bell, *Crusade in the City: Revivalism in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1977), 131.

64. Smith, *Autobiography*, 57.

65. Smith, *Autobiography*, 57 and 60. *U.S. Census*, 1820, Pennsylvania; Adams County. Marriage records were not carefully kept for blacks in mid-nineteenth-century Philadelphia, and the Smith marriage was not listed among those that took place during the 1860's.

66. *U.S. Census*, 1850, Maryland, Baltimore City, Ward 6. *McElroy's Philadelphia City Directory, 1863* (Philadelphia: E.C. & J. Biddle & Co., 1863). The year 1863 was the first year that the directory lists a James Smith who fits the profile of Smith's husband, as she described him in her autobiography.

67. Smith, *Autobiography*, 58-59.

Chapter Two

Sanctified: 1865-1868

When the Civil War ended in 1865, James and Amanda Smith left Philadelphia for New York, where James hoped to prosper from the post-war financial boom. With industry and commerce expanding at record rates, ambitious immigrants from Europe and the eastern United States poured into New York seeking work in factories, foundries, department stores, offices, on the harbor, and in affluent homes. As the rich flaunted their wealth with lavish spending, saloon keepers and fashionable restaurant and hotel owners hired more bartenders, waiters, janitors, maids, and coachmen to serve their expanding clientele. A bustling commercial life gave the city a magnetic air of gaiety, extravagance, and growth.[1] Although European immigrants were forcing black men out of most skilled trades and industrial jobs and black women remained at the bottom of the labor market, ambitious African-Americans like James hoped to earn more in New York than they could elsewhere.

Meanwhile, a Methodist-led Holiness Movement was regaining momentum after the cataclysmic interruption of the war. Centered in northeastern cities and led by lay members and pastors, the holiness revival drew its scriptural interpretation from Methodist founder John Wesley, who believed that after conversion an earnest Christian would remain "deeply discontent" with "the residues of sin within" and after a time of agonizing soul searching leading to "entire consecration and complete trust," the believer would be purified by God of inward sin and empowered to "live the new life victoriously."[2] Wesley called this experience sanctification, a second crisis when the believer acquired "perfect love." According to Wesley, sanctification could happen as "an instantaneous experience" or could be realized by growth. Nineteenth-century holiness exponents viewed sanctification as the central idea of

Christianity, calling it the "second blessing" that the Christian instantaneously acquired sometime after conversion.[3]

The biblical concept of perfection, when extended to the larger society, undergirded the thinking of late-nineteenth-century social reformers who fought the grinding poverty and corroding vice that escalated in the new urban industrial environment. As holiness leaders contended that humanity could be perfected, social activists concluded that society itself could be reformed. The social problems reformers addressed seemed magnified in New York, where neighborhoods, moral codes, and personal fortunes were rapidly changing.

Rapid Change

New York's transformation had begun before the war in the 1850s when a tidal wave of immigrants swept in from Europe. New York was then a modest city where tall poplar and sycamore trees lined downtown streets and the middle class lived in spacious two and three-story row houses, heated by potbellied stoves. The upper classes lived in expensive town houses with worn red brick fronts set off in marble or brownstone, some distinguished by opulently decorated cast-iron storefronts, protruding stoops, and heavy cornices. The poor lived mainly in simple two-story row houses where young people gathered on the front stoops to sing on hot summer nights.[4]

By 1865, once quiet, stable neighborhoods bustled with crowds of frequently moving newcomers. The combined populations of Manhattan and Kings County (later Brooklyn) surpassed one million. Whale-oil lamps that once lit dim city streets gave way to bright gas lights. Bookstores, grocery stores, furniture stores, and department stores proliferated, with Lord and Taylor and Bloomingdales conducting brisk business. As throngs filled the shopping districts, traffic became so snarled with competing carriages and omnibuses that crossing busy streets like Broadway became "a perilous adventure."[5]

The business district quickly expanded northward, and office buildings and factories replaced residential areas, the affluent moving toward the village of Harlem, followed by the middle class and the poor. Small row houses, from eighteen to twenty feet wide, replaced the more spacious ones where the middle class had lived. The lower middle class and prosperous working class, who could afford their own homes, crammed into row houses twelve-and-a-half-feet wide. Landlords divided mansions into small apartments and converted modest single-family homes into

boardinghouses they rented to middle-class immigrants. The poor packed into hastily built frame buildings erected in backyards and alleys or found rooms in tenements, some of which were as tall as seven stories and filled several lots.[6] Yards and stoops began to disappear as the new, box-like buildings extended to the sidewalk. The destitute survived in hovels with dirt floors and no ventilation, and entire families lived in basements and attics.

As the immigrant population increased, so did official corruption. From the mid-1860s through the 1870s, dishonest city and state officials illegally diverted public funds to private hands and plunged municipal government into an abyss of fraud, "inefficiency, and squalor."[7] Tammany Hall, a political machine that controlled the dominant Democratic Party, based its power on an uncontrolled patronage system. Thousands of immigrants were hastily naturalized to swell the voting rolls and were persuaded to vote Democratic for fear of losing their jobs. Led by William Marcy "Boss" Tweed, Tammany Hall politicians openly bought elections, gouged public coffers, and neglected city needs.

When James, Amanda, and Mazie arrived in Manhattan, its poorly paved streets were dirty and overcrowded. Hogs and dogs roamed neighborhoods, eating garbage and refuse tossed away by butchers and fishmongers. Carcasses of dead animals putrefied in the summer heat. Horses that pulled the city's carriages, coaches, and streetcars left behind uncollected piles of manure.[8] Slaughterhouses and animal fat and bone boiling companies regularly located in poor residential neighborhoods. After the war, city government forced these processing companies to move beyond city limits, but street corners continued to pile up with excrement, dead animals, and garbage. In the shadow of unparalleled riches, most people lived with filthy streets, faulty sewers, and the resulting foul odors and disease.[9] With the small, poorly equipped police force unable to control the teeming population, mob violence compounded the perils of city life, especially on election days.

Southern Sympathies

In 1863, a riot erupted when city officials tried to enforce the nation's first draft law. Angry mobs besieged the mayor, overran the police, and defied federal troops. Many New Yorkers sympathized with the Confederate cause. The city had important economic ties with the South, its harbor being the third largest exporter of Southern cotton, behind New Orleans and Mobile, Alabama. Before the state abolished slavery, New York City

had been the country's second largest slaveholding city, next to Charleston, South Carolina, and was known for its antiabolitionism.[10] Months before war broke out, its mayor openly supported Southern secession, even proposing that New York City leave the Union along with the South.

As the Civil War wore on, antiwar sentiment increased. In January, 1863, when President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all slaves behind Confederate lines, Horatio Seymour, the state's Democratic governor, blasted the measure as "unjust and unconstitutional." Seen as an attempt by the federal government to link slavery with the war, the Proclamation enraged poor whites. They resented fighting to free black men whom they feared would then migrate North and take their jobs while they were away at war.[11]

In March 1863, on the heels of President Lincoln's unpopular emancipation decree, Congress passed a draft law exempting those who could pay $300 for a substitute. Sympathizers with the Confederate cause, poor immigrants who had left Europe to escape compulsory military service, and other opponents of the war galvanized the simmering population against abolitionists, Republicans, and blacks, whom they blamed for the bloody conflict.

Mobs easily preyed on African-American neighborhoods, attacking these isolated communities and trapping helpless individuals without fear of reprisal.[12] The city's largest black neighborhoods, all located in Greenwich Village, sustained the fiercest attacks. A mob ravaged Thompson, Roosevelt, and Sullivan Streets, attacking boardinghouses and dragging men, women, and children into the streets before looting and burning the buildings. Terrified victims fled to the nearest police station for protection. White women married to black men were assaulted, and rioters shot two black children as they fled for safety with their mothers. On Sullivan Street, near the AME Church Amanda Smith would join, a marauding band lynched a black man, set his body on fire, and left him dangling from a lamppost. Farther north on Forty-third Street, two hundred children fled the city's only black orphanage, while members of the mob murdered a stranded child, pillaged the impressive building, and burned it to the ground.[13]

Rioters viciously attacked black industrial workers and seamen. Dutch-speaking black residents of Flatbush built barricades for pro-tection as they hid in a four-story windmill. A mob attacked the Lorillard and Watson tobacco factories in Brooklyn, threatening to incinerate Lorillard unless the owners agreed to fire all blacks and replace them with whites. A gang nearly killed William Williams because they suspected him of

being a longshoreman.[14] While beating him senseless with a piece of flagstone torn from the pavement, they warned an onlooker, standing at his stable door, never to hire blacks. In another reported incident, forty white men chased two black sailors from their ship, pursuing them until the frightened seamen found refuge in a nearby French vessel flying the British flag.[15]

After four days of terror, the mobs succumbed to the state militia, and a Michigan regiment rushed to the scene from the now quiet battlefield at Gettysburg. Merchants and other white citizens, outraged at the assault on blacks, organized a relief effort; but large numbers of African-Americans fled the city, some apparently settling in rural King's County.

Conflict

The draft riots climaxed a long history of white hostility against black people. Manhattan's first African immigrants arrived on the island's southern tip in 1623. A few came as explorers from Europe, the vast majority as slaves owned by Dutch merchants.[16] In 1741, about two thousand of Manhattan's eleven thousand inhabitants were slaves of African origin. That same year a series of unexplained robberies and fires ignited white fear of black revolt and led to a controversial conspiracy trial. Based on rumors, a jury convicted thirty black men, two white men, and two white women of planning insurrection. Executioners burned thirteen of the black men to death and hanged the remaining seventeen, along with the four whites.[17]

After America won its independence from Britain, New York began to gradually abolish slavery, finally ending it in 1799. Manhattan's black settlement became a haven for fugitive slaves who, along with their free black and white defenders, fought pitched battles with would-be slave catchers; but in most of the city, proslavery sentiment prevailed. In the 1830s, when abolitionism gained momentum, counter riots erupted throughout the North. A New York mob ransacked the home of abolitionist industrialist Lewis Tappan and burned his furniture. Another mob burned down two white churches pastored by antislavery activists and another torched black homes and a black church.[18]

Whites justified anti-black violence by labeling black workers as scab labor. Shut out of unions, black men worked for lower wages or as strike breakers.[19] They also successfully competed in skilled trades. In 1850, about 25 percent of black male workers in New York were carpenters, blacksmiths, coachmen, barbers, seamen, and longshoremen. Although the

majority were unskilled domestic servants and laborers, substantial numbers held skilled positions. In the mid-1850s European immigrants began forcing black men out of industrial jobs and skilled trades and competed with them as coachmen and waiters. White immigrants also began catering and barbering businesses, two mainstays of the black middle class.[20] By 1855, only about 15 percent of black male workers held skilled jobs. By 1860 Manhattan's black population had declined from about 16,000 in 1840 to 12,581. Thousands were driven out by escalating labor discrimination and antiblack violence. After the draft riots, the number of African-Americans in Manhattan dropped dramatically, from 12,581 to 9,943.[21] When the Smiths arrived, black people constituted only about 1.4 percent of New York's population.

Losing Ground

By 1865, black men had lost the right to practice long-established trades and were barred from most foundries and factories. White immigrants almost completely replaced them in trades and manufacturing.[22] Black women continued working as washerwomen, cooks, live-in maids, and housekeepers, often alongside Irish immigrant women employed by the same household. The more fortunate women lived at home, took in laundry, and did domestic work during the day. A few black women were teachers or seamstresses but were not permitted to work in department stores, and only a few worked in factories.

The city extended black subordination from the workplace into everyday life. After barring them from streetcars in 1850, the city finally allowed African-Americans to ride on a segregated basis in 1865. White-owned hotels refused to rent them rooms. The school system required black children to walk past nearby white schools to reach inferior ones established for them. Most white churches either outright excluded or discouraged African-Americans from attending.[23] In spite of the threat of violence and the realities of discrimination and segregation, James Smith envisioned opportunities to move up the black social ladder.

Behind the hostile wall of racial segregation, African-Americans had developed their own society, with the wealthy, mainly light-skinned New York natives at the top, followed by a usually darker middle class and the poor, nearly always dark-skinned, lower class. The upper class included successful businesspeople: real estate speculators, caterers, and undertakers; hotel, drugstore, and restaurant proprietors; and owners of cleaning operations. Below them in the middle class were the barbers, tailors, cigar

makers, dressmakers, physicians, teachers, and the educated clergy, some of whom considered themselves members of the elite whether accepted by the upper echelon or not. At the lower end of this flexible middle class were porters, packers, messengers, draymen, waiters, and coachmen, whose tasks resembled those of "upper house servants" during slavery.[24] If they earned sufficient money, dressed well enough, and behaved in a manner considered respectable by the others, these "house servants" could be accepted as middle class. Those with darker skin color could move up the social ladder through financial achievement and respectability. At the bottom, in the "lower classes" the common laborers, the petty thieves, the prostitutes, the unemployed, and the destitute lived mainly in the infamous Five Points neighborhood and the Tenderloin District near City Hall in lower Manhattan.

The few blacks who acquired property and accumulated wealth lived quietly, far from the poor of any race, in large comfortable homes often cared for by white servants. In contrast, most of the city's blacks, both middle class and poor, lived in crowded, multi-family dwellings and pursued occupations far below their skills and ability.[25]

Poverty

Before the Smiths left Philadelphia, James had secured a waiter's job at one of Leland's hotels on Broadway. The Leland family owned a hotel chain that preserved the country inn atmosphere by using open fireplaces for heat.[26] James went to work as a hotel waiter until he could find a better position in his trade as a coachman. Amanda had wanted to stay in Philadelphia where she had secure sources of housekeeping and cooking jobs, enjoyed the friendly atmosphere at Mother Bethel AME Church, and lived near her parents and siblings. New York church members seemed distant and aloof, and she missed the supportive community in Philadelphia.

Their poverty compounded her loneliness since James could not afford rent for a place that would adequately house the entire family. He either lived in servants quarters, at the hotel where he worked, or in a boarding-house. Amanda went to work as a live-in maid on Twenty-fourth Street and Lexington Avenue and boarded Mazie with strangers. When James found her a room on York Street, Amanda left the live-in job and switched to daywork. She failed to earn enough to pay the rent and had to move to a cheaper room on Broome Street, in a run-down area south of Greenwich Village, which prosperous black residents had abandoned years before.

In spite of their meager income, James remained active in his lodges: the Prince Hall Masons and the Odd Fellows. He convinced Amanda to join the female auxiliary, the Heroines of Jericho, open only to the wives of Master Masons, an elite unit of the organization to which he belonged. Although she initially resisted, she ultimately tried to fit in with the "high toned" Heroines because she herself was also "high-toned in spirit," having acquired an "aristocratic" attitude from the whites with whom she had lived as a child. But the Smiths could not afford the lodge members' lifestyle. As Amanda put it, "it took about all I could earn to pay rent and keep up our societies."[27]

Although they were struggling economically, the Smiths thought of themselves as part of the aspiring lower middle class in black society. Her husband James may have had higher social aspirations than Amanda because he had more formal education and his family had been better off than hers. Amanda wanted to educate her daughter. She also wanted to be a respected minister's wife and possibly an evangelist, but claimed to have had no clear secular ambitions. James wanted to climb the social ladder, and for whatever reason, she joined him. But while the Smiths were trying to move up, their fortunes steadily declined.

Destitution

When Amanda's pregnancy became noticeable, the Broome Street landlady asked her to move for fear that she would soon be unable to work and pay the rent. She moved to the Colored Home, a charity shelter at Sixty-fifth Street on First Avenue. Since the city only gave public assistance to whites, destitute blacks relied on private charity, their own fraternal orders, and churches. The privately funded Colored Home housed two hundred men and women and was the only relief agency for blacks in the city besides the orphanage at Forty-third Street that had burned down during the draft riots.[28]

After she spent a miserable week in the Home, Alexander Harris and his wife, a couple James had known in Philadelphia, let Amanda move in with them at 68 Grove Street, a short block in Greenwich Village, east of Christopher Street between Bleecker and West Fourth. Their two-story, tin-roofed frame building was located in the back of a vacant lot between the parsonages of two prominent churches: Abyssinian Baptist Church and the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church.[29] Harris, a waiter like James, came home only at night, and his wife was working temporarily as a live-in housekeeper and cook, which freed some space for the

nearly indigent Smith.

At the Harris' apartment on September 16, 1866, Smith gave birth to her fourth child and second son, Thomas Henry Smith.[30] She immediately found a job as a live-in domestic, which gave her a place to live, but the other women working at the house were not "straight" as she put it, alluding to their apparently free conduct with men. Tapping the network of black Pennsylvania immigrants, she renewed two old acquaintances, Gus and Peter Anderson, with whom she had worked years before at Long Branch resort on the New Jersey shore. Their mother, Julia Anderson, rented her a basement room in the rear building where she lived at 135 Amity Street.[31] Three weeks after her baby was born, Smith moved into the damp apartment in this two-story wood frame building in the southern section of Greenwich Village, two blocks south of Washington Square and a block north of "Little Africa."

Greenwich Village

With its boundaries roughly drawn from Spring Street north to Fourteenth Street and from Broadway to West Street on the Hudson River, Greenwich Village had once been a sleepy country town where the wealthy enjoyed its pleasant climate far from the city's frequent epidemics. In 1798 an outbreak of cholera drove the middle class and poor to the Village's healthier site, and many remained after the scourge had passed. By 1800 African-Americans had established a settlement in the Village, which soon became the central location for New York's most prosperous blacks.[32] Between 1825 and 1850, as its population quadrupled, the Village's richest residents moved northward. Commercial development took over old neighborhoods south of the Village, but its residents resisted development and change, preferring to become a "quiet backwater" in the midst of a growing town. In the decade before the Civil War, as newcomers arrived in record numbers, the city's highest concentration of native-born Americans lived in Greenwich Village.[33]

In the 1850s, 95 percent of the city's black population lived south of Fourteenth Street, the majority in the southern section of the Village and in neighborhoods south of it, mainly on Leonard, Broome, and Spring Streets. In 1850 the sons of Nicholas Low, a wealthy businessman, built impressive row houses as rental property in the 100 block of Sullivan and McDougal Streets. Between 1850 and 1860 blacks began to move north to McDougal, Bleecker, Carmine, Sullivan, and Thompson Streets and Minetta Lane. By 1860 African-Americans had established a substantial

community in and near the Village, many preferring to live in black neighborhoods to insulate themselves from white hostility.[34]

During the war, long-established African-Americans left the Village, following wealthy whites moving north and west. These longtime black residents found better homes and occupations in upper Manhattan.[35] As affluent blacks moved out and "up," black immigrants moved in. As a result Greenwich Village was the only part of the city where the black population increased during the war. By 1865, about 25 percent of the city's African-Americans lived in Greenwich Village, many working as servants for whites near Washington Square.[36]

North and West of the Square, between University Place and Sixth Avenue, wealthy whites lived in ornate row houses, surrounding the earlier settlements of the poor. Washington Square began as a burial ground during the cholera epidemic of 1798, which killed 1,310. It then became a potter's field for indigents and executed criminals. In 1827, the city converted it into a parade ground and opened Fifth Avenue to development.[37] By 1865, New York University's Gothic buildings dominated the landscape east of the Square.

South of Amity, poor and lower-middle-class blacks concentrated on Bleecker, McDougal, Sullivan, Thompson, and Minetta Streets and Minetta Lane in the community called "Little Africa." Restricted to this narrow section of the West Side, black immigrants crammed into housing on Thompson Street and South Fifth Avenue described as "vile rookeries." Many also lived west on Carmine Street. Tammany Hall politicians sheltered black gangs on Minetta Lane and Baxter and Thompson Streets in exchange for the gangs delivering the black vote.[38]

When Smith moved to Amity Street, most of the Village's onefamily dwellings had become boardinghouses. Where there had been none ten years before, six- and seven-story tenements had become a normal part of the landscape, especially on Bleecker Street and in the other neighborhoods south of Washington Square, an area which "declined" after 1850. The Village's once "unique residential character" was rapidly changing.[39]

Amity Street

Amity Street was the northern boundary of the first election district in the City's Fifteenth Ward, an area bounded on the south by Houston Street, on the east by East University Place, and on the west by Sixth Avenue, later renamed the Avenue of the Americas. Except for the three frame buildings adjacent to 135, the other nine buildings on Smith's side of Amity were

two- and three-story brick row houses originally built for middle class commuters. The street was probably paved with granite blocks in contrast to the asphalt pavement on the nearly all-black and much poorer Minetta Lane.[40]

The only black people on Amity lived in the front and rear buildings at Number 135. The front building was a two-story brick town house facing the street; the rear building, a two-story frame house with a small front porch. Both occupied a small lot, 125 feet long and 25 feet wide. The front town house was a modest nineteen feet wide and thirty-four feet long. The rear building where Smith lived covered the lot's twenty-five-foot width and was nineteen feet long. The two buildings together were valued at a modest $5400.[41] A narrow passage beside the larger house in front led to the small yard and building in the rear where Smith lived for the next ten years.

Paved with cobblestone and lined with sidewalks, Amity had more traffic than most nearby streets because of the numerous stables located on both sides of the street and rear alleyways. Carriages parked regularly on both sides of the street. The fire department, a repair shop, and fire hydrant were directly across the street from 135 Amity and numerous stables lined the street as well as the alley in back of Smith's house.[42]

The residents at 135 Amity formed a tiny black enclave between two larger black settlements. One was to the northwest in the Bleecker and Tenth Street area surrounding the AME Zion Church, and the other, two blocks south of Amity on Sullivan and Thompson Streets, fanned out from the AME Church. The two churches were at the center of these communities, whose black residents lived adjacent to them in a solid line of tenement and row houses. Another small black community lived on Minetta Street and Minetta Lane, a block south of Amity.

Smith's location provided easy access to white employers who hired her for day cleaning work and were customers for her laundry business. But in spite of the advantages of the location, her basement room was continually cold in the winter and damp year-round largely because Minetta Creek flowed beneath the tunnels and alleys of Minetta Lane, in the block south of Amity occupied solely by blacks.[43] Even though she later moved upstairs, the unhealthy environment in the basement must have aggravated the severe arthritis and chronic respiratory ailments she suffered most of her life and may have contributed to the tragic deaths of the two babies she bore in New York.

Epidemics that regularly ravaged the city hit the black population hardest. Tuberculosis was the leading cause of death among New Yorkers

throughout the nineteenth century, and black death rates were always proportionately higher than even the death rates of new immigrants. Landlords took advantage of housing segregation, charging higher rents to black tenants by limiting them to certain areas where often wretched living quarters were breeding grounds for disease. Even though Greenwich Village was relatively healthy compared with other parts of the city, the areas of the Village inhabited by blacks quickly became overcrowded and unhealthy.

Since the 1850s single family dwellings of black residents had nearly disappeared from the Fifteenth Ward. Indicative of the shift in the black community from upper to lower and lower middle class, the percentage of black residents described in the census as mulattoes had declined from 35 percent in 1855 to 2 percent in 1870. The average number of persons per dwelling had doubled from six to nearly thirteen. Only four of the Fifteenth Ward's black residents listed in the 1855 census were listed again in 1870. The ward's new black residents were mainly servants: 32 percent of the working men were waiters and 17 percent were porters. Seven percent were cooks, coachmen, and personal servants. Thirteen percent worked at trades that allowed them to accumulate savings. One was a minister, another a sexton, two were sailors, and a few others held such occupations as bull ringer, armorer, truck driver, clerk, and janitor.[44]

Washerwoman

Smith seemed typical of the African-American women in Greenwich Village, most of whom took in laundry and occasionally cleaned the homes of the wealthy to support their families. In spite of long hours spent washing and ironing, often sleeping on her feet and ironing all night, she barely earned enough for her and Mazie to survive. She took in about $8 a month and the rent was $6 a month. James sporadically helped pay her rent even though they lived apart most of the time. He sometimes lived in servants quarters in the hotels where he worked. At other times he lived on Laurens Street, where he resided on May 21, 1867, when their son, Thomas Henry, died of convulsions from tubercular meningitis just eight months after he was born. Thomas Henry was buried in Evergreen Cemetery.[45]

The death of their second child strained Smith's unhappy marriage and deepened her longing for spiritual fulfillment; but the more she searched for answers, the harder her life became. As tensions mounted, she shared her problems with a neighbor and fellow AME church member who told

her she had once had an "unkind" husband, but that God had given her "enduring grace" when he "sanctified" her soul. Desperate for peace of mind, Smith told her friend she wanted this "enduring grace" and longed even more to be "sanctified."[46]

In the late summer of 1868, Smith's marital problems continued to escalate, and her spiritual crisis deepened. On August 1, she gave birth to another son, William Henry Smith.[47] In September, after three years of working as a waiter, James found a live-in coachman's position on the Roberts family homestead in New Utrecht. John Roberts, a forty-year-old New York-born farmer,[48] had agreed to pay James $50 a month, provide rent-free servants's quarters, and free flour and coal for the winter. James asked Amanda to come and live with him, but she asked him to let her wait until the following spring to decide. She wanted to remain in Greenwich Village, where she had established reliable customers for her business as a washerwoman and where she lived near her church and friends.

New Utrecht was a former Dutch town on Hudson Bay, about a mile and a half from the Verazzano Narrows, which was then a seaside resort. At the southwestern end of King's County, New Utrecht included present-day Brooklyn's Bensonhurst neighborhood, and in 1860 it had about three thousand residents.[49] The Roberts homestead was located near what became Brooklyn's Eighteenth Avenue and Sixty-sixth street. Most of New Utrecht's residents were farmers, owned fisheries or small factories, or worked as merchants or professionals in the cities of New York and Brooklyn.

Amanda recalled telling her husband:

> I am afraid to go; you have done me so bad right here where I have just begun to be used to the people, and know how to turn around, and what will it be if I go there out in the country, no church near, and a stranger, and if I give up my washing what will I do? I can help myself a little now.[50]

An angry James moved to New Utrecht. Meanwhile, Amanda's rent went up to $13 a month, which James agreed to pay, but he refused to do any more. He visited her every other weekend and occasionally gave her rent money, but they were clearly going their separate ways.

With her husband far away most of the time, Amanda freely pursued sanctification. She and three other women had formed a prayer band which met at her house on Monday afternoons. Through them she had unsuccessfully attempted foot-washing as the way to please God and thereby be sanctified.[51] She had also sought out AME pastors sympathetic to

sanctification doctrine, but none of them apparently explained it to her satisfaction. She decided to seek out Methodist holiness leader John Inskip, who pastored Green Street Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church, about a mile from her home. Other churches were near: John Street Methodist Episcopal Church, the oldest Methodist church in the city, was south of her near Wall Street, and St. Phillips Episcopal Church, one of the oldest African-American churches in the city, was located a few blocks from her home. Revivalist and firebrand preacher John Cookman, an associate of Inskip, pastored Bedford Street ME Church in the nearby Ninth Ward. Smith's own church was only two blocks away, but in her search for spiritual peace, she was determined to defy social norms and risk being embarrassed in order to hear John Inskip preach.

Holiness

Inskip chaired the city's Methodist preachers' meeting, and in June 1867, in response to the growing interest in holiness and sanctification among their congregations, he and presiding elder William Osborn persuaded a group of pastors from the Northeast to organize a national camp meeting.[52] The group met in Philadelphia and planned the first camp meeting centered on the theme of entire sanctification. Held in Vineland, New Jersey, from July 17 to 26, 1867, the meeting attracted over ten thousand people. Afterwards, the sponsoring ministers created the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness and elected Inskip president. The association lasted into the next century.

Born in 1816, Inskip emigrated from England to Wilmington, Delaware, and later Chester, Pennsylvania. He was licensed to preach in 1835. A big man noted for his physical strength and emotional intensity, Inskip was a fluent speaker, who one contemporary described as "a veritable whirlwind." During the Civil War he served as chaplain of New York's Fourteenth Regiment, but returned home before the war ended. In 1864, he experienced "entire sanctification."

On a September Sunday morning, when Amanda expected her husband home, she left their month-old infant son with Mazie, who was then thirteen, and took the brisk fifteen-minute walk to Green Street ME Church. Boldly passing her own church on Sullivan Street, she negotiated the narrow, cobblestone streets that led to the Green Street neighborhood out of which life-changing ideas had begun to flow.

Feeling out of place as a lone black woman in a white congregation, Amanda sat on a back pew and listened to Inskip preach. According to her

account, he patiently explained that a believer received a pure heart by faith and that God would sustain him or her in that state of holiness just as he sustained human breath without the person making a conscious effort. Believing this simple explanation, Amanda said she received at last the blessing of a pure heart that she had pursued for over a decade. In the midst of Inskip's staid congregation, Amanda shouted, "Glory to Jesus!" Fearing censure of her outburst from the staid white church members, Amanda was relieved when Inskip answered, "Amen, Glory to God."

As she stepped outside the church, she recalled:

> I seemed to feel a hand, the touch of which I cannot describe. It seemed to press me gently on the top of my head, and I felt something part and roll down and cover me like a great cloak! I felt it distinctly; it was done in a moment, and O, what a mighty peace and power took possession of me![53]

Overcome with joy, she stumbled onto the busy street, stopping along the way to tell acquaintances, "the Lord has sanctified my soul!" Twelve years after being converted, she believed she had come at last into "the blessed light of full salvation." She remembered feeling at the time that "if there was a platform around the world I would be willing to get on it and walk and tell everybody of this sanctifying power of God!"[54]

Notes

1. Bayrd Still, *Mirror for Gotham: New York as Seen by Contemporaries from Dutch Days to the Present* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), 197 and 132.

2. Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980), 99. Timothy L. Smith, "The Holiness Crusade," in *The History of American Methodism,* vol. 2, ed. Emory S. Bucke et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), 609.

3. Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957), 114-115. T. Smith, "Holiness Crusade," 617.

4. Charles Lockwood, *Bricks and Brownstones: The New York Row House, 1783-1929, An Architectural and Social History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1972), 60 and 143. Hermon H. Goldstone and Martha Dalrymple, *A Guide to New York City Landmarks and Historic Districts* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 166-167. Henry Collins Brown, "New York of Yesterday," in *Valentine's Manual of Old New York,* ed. Henry Collins Brown (New York: Valentine's Manual Inc., 1924), 12 and 18.

5. *New York State Census of 1875* (Albany, 1877), 151. Marshall B. Davidson, *New York: a Pictorial History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), 117 and 121. The 1875 *New York State Census* records indicate that between 1850 and 1865 Manhattan's white population grew from 515,547 to 726,386. King's County, later the borough of Brooklyn, increased from 138,882 to 311,090.

6. Lockwood, *Bricks and Brownstones,* 143. Thomas Bender, "Washing-ton Square in the Growing City," in *Around Washington Square, 1830-1890, Essays on Life, Letters, and Architecture in Greenwich Village*, ed. Mindy Cantor (New York: New York University Press, 1982), 35.

7. Jerry E. Patterson, *The City of New York: A History Illustrated from the Collections of the Museum of the City of New York* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1978), 136.

8. Brown, "New York of Yesterday," 8-18.

9. John Duffy, *A History of Public Health in New York City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), 376-388.

10. Patterson, *The City of New York,* 133-134.

11. *New York Times*, 8 January 1863, 1. Robert Ernst, "The Economic Status of New York City Negroes, 1850-1863," in *The Making of Black America*, vol. 1, ed. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 256.

12. Adrian Cook, *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 78.

13. Donald Tricarico, *The Italians of Greenwich Village* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1984), 1-2. J. F. Richmond, *New York Institutions, 1609-1872* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1872), 303. *New York Times*, 16 July 1863, 1.

14. *Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People, Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York*, comp. Vincent Colyer, (New York: George A. Whitehorne, Steam Printer, 1863), 21.

15. *New York Times*, 2 August 1863, 6; and 22 July 1863, 8.

16. Davidson, *New York*, 167. Cook, *Armies*, 21.

17. T. J. Davis, *A Rumor of Revolt: The "Great Negro Plot" in Colonial New York* (New York: The Free Press, 1985), ix-x.

18. John Hope Franklin and Alfred E. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans,* 7th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 81. Cook, *Armies,* 21.

19. Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 204-205.

20. W. E. B. DuBois, *The Black North in 1901: A Social Study* (repr., New York: Arno Press and *New York Times*, 1969), 7-8. Seth Scheiner, *Negro Mecca: A History of the Negro in New York City, 1865-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), 46-47. Ernst, "Economic Status," 252.

21. U.S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1864). Franklin B. Hough, comp., *Census of the State of New York for 1865* (Albany, 1867). Still, *Mirror,* 129-132.

22. Ernst, "Economic Status," 252. Still, *Mirror,* 131.

23. Ena L. Farley, "The Issue of Black Equality in New York State: 1865-1873" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1973), 162-164. See also Ena L. Farley, "The Denial of Black Equality under the States Rights Dictum: New York, 1865-1873," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 1, no. 1 (January 1977): 8-23.

24. DuBois, *The Black North,* 8 and 15.

25. Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America: 1800-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 52-53.

26. James L. Ford, "Famous New York Hotels of the Seventies," in *Valentine's Manual of Old New York,* ed. Henry Collins Brown (New York: Valentine's Manual Inc., 1924), 154-155; and Amanda Smith, *An Autobiography: The Story of the Lord's Dealings with Mrs. Amanda Smith, the Colored Evangelist* (1893); first repr., Chicago: Afro-Am Press, Division of Afro-Am Books, Inc., 1969) , 60.

27. Smith, *Autobiography,* 60-66.

28. Farley, "The Issue," 195-202.

29. William Perris, *Maps of the City of New York, Surveyed under Directions of Insurance Companies of Said City* (New York: Perris and Browne, 1869), vol. 3, 55. H. Wilson, comp., *Trow's New York City Directory, 1867* (New York: John F. Trow, 1867). The maps published by Perris and Browne were later produced by the Sanborn-Perris Map Co. Limited and known as the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps.

30. Thomas H. Smith, Return of a Birth, Bureau of Records and Vital Statistics, Metropolitan Board of Health, New York City.

31. Amity Street is now West Third Street.

32. Everett Beanne, map, "The Trek Northward: Movement of the Negro Population in N.Y.C., in "*The Negro in New York: An Informal Social History,* ed. Roi Ottley and William Weatherby (New York: New York Public Library, 1967), appendix. The official Greenwich Village Historic District ends at Washington Square South, thereby excluding many black neighbor-hoods located in poorer sections (see the Greenwich Village Historic District Report, vol. 2, Landmarks Preservation Commission, City of New York, 1969). In the late nineteenth century the Greenwich Village residential area extended south to Spring Street, west to West Street, north to Fourteenth Street and West to Second Avenue. These poorer neighborhoods were not cited for historical preservation (See *The Village Voice Map of Greenwich Village,* 1973).

33. Lou Gady et al. eds., *The WPA Guide to New York City: The Federal Writers Project Guide to 1930's New York* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1939; repr., New York: Random House, 1982), 125-126, and 134.

34. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (1930; repr., New York: Antheneum, 1969), 58-59. Curry, *Free Black,* 61-79. Goldstone and Dalrymple, *A Guide,* 164-165. Scheiner, *Negro Mecca,* 15-17.

35. *1855 Census of the Fifteenth Ward, New York City,* abstracted and indexed by Lincoln C. Cocheu (New York: Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation, 1946). H. Wilson, comp., *Trow's New York City Directory, 1871* (New York: John F. Trow, 1871). Francis A. Walker, comp., *The Statistics of*

the Population of the United States (Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census, June 1, 1870) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872). *U.S. Census,* 1870, New York City, Fifteenth Ward.

36. Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto; Negro New York, 1890-1930* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 11. Johnson, *Black Manhattan,* 58-59.

37. Goldstone and Dalrymple, *A Guide*, 154. Bender, "Washington Square, 31-32.

38. Roi Ottley and William J. Weatherby, eds., *The Negro in New York: An Informal Social History* (New York: New York Public Library, 1967), 131. Jacob A. Riis, "The Black Population of New York City," in *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York,* Bedford Series in History and Culture (1890; repr., Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 92. Tricarico, *The Italians,* 1. Scheiner, *Negro Mecca,* 15-17. Also see Ann Cook, Marilyn Gittel, and Herb Mack, eds., *City Life, 1865-1900* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

39. Bender, "Washington Square," 35. Bayrd Still, *Greenwich Village: A Brief Architectural and Historical Guide* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 6.

40. Bender, "Washington Square," 31-32. Roger H. Pidgeon, *Atlas of the City of New York Lying South of Fourteenth Street* (New York: E. Robinson, 1881).

41. New York City Tax Assessment Records, 1870, 135 West Third Street (Amity), Block 543, lot 68.

42. Perris, *Maps of New York*, vol. 3 (1869), 50. Mary Black, *Old New York in Early Photographs: 1853-1901,* 2d rev. ed. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1976), 111.

43. Thomas A. Janvier, *In Old New York* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), 86.

44. *1855 Census of the Fifteenth Ward.*

45. Thomas H. Smith, Certificate of Death, 24 May 1867, Municipal Archives, New York.

46. Smith, *Autobiography*, 62-63.

47. William Henry Smith, Return of a Birth, Bureau of Records and Vital Statistics, Metropolitan Board of Health, Municipal Archives, New York.

48. Smith, *Autobiography,* 71. *U.S. Census*, 1870, King's County, Bay Ridge Post Office, Town of New Utrecht.

49. *Historic and Beautiful Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Eagle, 1946), 5 and 39. Jerome Hoffman, *The Bay Ridge Chronicles* (Brooklyn: Bay Ridge Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 79. Ron Miller, "The Fourth Largest City in America," in *A Sociological History of Brooklyn* (n.p., 1979), 16 and 35. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 13 March 1916, Brooklyn and Long Island Scrapbooks, Brooklyn Historical Society.

50. Smith, *Autobiography,* 71.

51. *Ibid.*, 91. Foot-washing is an ordinance in some church bodies.

52. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival,* 104-107. Timothy Smith, "The Holiness Crusade," 212.

53. Smith, *Autobiography*, 79.
54. *Ibid.*, 79 and 84.

NEW YORK NEIGHBORHOOD. An unidentified photographer captured this view of Amanda Smith's New York neighborhood in this photograph entitled, "West Third Street, View from East of MacDougal Street," taken in 1877 or 1878. Until 1876, Smith lived in a small, wood-frame rear building, no. 135 r. Amity, later renamed West Third. The overhead railroad was built after Smith moved back to Philadelphia (Collection of The New-York Historical Society).

Chapter Three

Washerwoman to Evangelist: 1868-1878

Smith rushed ecstatically from Inskip's church eager to tell friends and neighbors that God had sanctified her soul. She tried to persuade them to seek heart purity themselves, but most rejected her claims or remained politely skeptical. Soon she began to doubt whether God had really given her a pure heart.[1] Her family life deteriorated, financial stress increased, and she met unyielding opposition from members of her church. Nevertheless, she stepped into the public arena with the holiness message.

She began attending the Tuesday Meeting at the home of Walter and Phoebe Palmer on Rivington Street, about two miles from her apartment on Amity. Since 1839, lay members and ministers from all Protestant denominations had met regularly at the Palmer home to share their experiences and listen to Phoebe Palmer teach on sanctification. The meeting had developed into a kind of "home church" out of which holiness doctrine had spread throughout North America and Europe. By attending the Tuesday gatherings, Amanda met some of the Holiness Movement's most influential figures.[2]

She also began testifying at local churches. Bethel AME church at 214 Sullivan Street was only two blocks from her home.[3] The AME Zion Church at 331 Bleecker, Abyssinian Baptist at 166 Waverly, and Phillips Protestant Episcopal Church at 305 Mulberry Street were also nearby. African Union Methodist Protestant Church at 161 West Fifteenth Street was farthest away, yet still within walking distance.[4] She had easy access by public transportation to Brooklyn, Harlem, and New Jersey, where African-American churches were expanding.

When she began promoting sanctification in the AME Church, she said she became, "a speckled bird among my own people on account of the

professing of the blessing of holiness." Nelson Turpin, the new pastor at Bethel, adamantly opposed the current Holiness Movement, although the previous pastor, Leonard Patterson, had not. Smith said Patterson was Bethel's pastor "at the time I got the blessing" and he "enjoyed the experience and preached the doctrine," but a majority of Bethel's members did not. They agreed with Turpin, which put her at odds with most of her church.[5] Feeling alienated, she considered moving her membership. She admitted some discomfort with the exuberant worship styles then common to most African-American churches. She complained that black people made "unnecessary noise" in church and she considered joining a small, white Methodist congregation. After visiting for a while, she concluded that all churches had faults and decided to remain with "her own."[6] In the face of often stern opposition, she continued to testify about holiness and began passing out tracts on street corners.

Crisis

As Smith's commitment to sanctification increased, so did the conflict between her and her husband. Convinced that lodge membership was incompatible with holy living, Smith quit the Heroines of Jericho and stopped wearing the fashionably elaborate clothing popular among women in the Victorian era. She returned to the plain Quaker-styled dresses she had worn in her youth in Pennsylvania. Like many other black women in northern Maryland and southeastern Pennsylvania, Smith had been deeply influenced by Quakers. Her mother's former owner, Rachel Green, though not Quaker, had dressed in Quaker fashion. Smith had also lived as a maid in the home of Quakers when she was converted. Since the Society of Friends helped launch the abolition movement, and Quakers risked their lives to protect fugitives from slavery, black people generally respected the Quakers, and many African-American women in Pennsylvania adopted Quaker dress.[7] Besides these early influences, Smith now viewed Quaker simplicity as more compatible with holiness principles than popular fashion. When she began wearing a plain bonnet and dress and stopped attending lodge meetings, her vexed husband refused to pay her rent.

In the winter of 1868, as their marriage continued to deteriorate, their infant son and fifth child, William Henry, contracted bronchitis. On June 25, 1869, when he was just ten months old, he suffered convulsions and died in her arms.[8] Grief-stricken, she bitterly denounced her husband for failing to help pay for the burial or attend the brief funeral at Greenwood Cemetery, a picturesque, recently created burial ground located near her

husband's job in a peaceful rural setting in Brooklyn. Although James sent word that he was sick, she felt abandoned and resented being forced to rely on friends and Bethel Church to bury their child. Five months later, however, on November 3, 1869, James died of stomach cancer and was also buried in Greenwood Cemetery.[9]

With her husband dead and no infant children to care for, Smith was free to pursue her spiritual vocation. AME churches, whose pastors were receptive to holiness doctrine, invited her to speak. Then she received invitations from the newly founded African Union Methodist Protestant Church, known locally as African Union. She said that after she spoke about ten minutes on sanctification, the ministers who had criticized her when she began shouted an approving, "Amen." Then, she recalled, "the fire seemed to fall on all the people."[10]

Camp Meeting

After becoming well-known among black Methodists, Smith more frequently visited white churches and began attending camp meetings, where she associated with prominent white religious leaders and built an enduring reputation as a powerful singer and speaker. In July 1870, she attended her first camp meeting,[11] the Fifth National Holiness Camp Meeting, which was held on the new Methodist Camp Ground at Wilton Grove in Hartford County, Maryland. Wilton Grove was eighty acres of rolling land near the town of Oakington,[12] thirty-four miles north of Baltimore and near her mother's family homestead in Hereford.[13] Three years before, in 1867, the newly organized National Association for the Promotion of Holiness had launched what became a long series of national holiness camp meetings. The first one was held in Vineland, New Jersey, where about ten thousand attended. The next year, over twenty-five thousand gathered in Manheim, Pennsylvania, for the second National Holiness Camp Meeting. The third one was held in 1869 at Round Lake, New York. With John Inskip as president, the association steadily expanded its influence; and by 1870 instead of sponsoring one, the association sponsored three camp meetings in one year: the first in Hamilton, Massachusetts, the second at Oakington, and a third in Desplaines, Illinois.[14]

Camp meetings had been popular since the early nineteenth century, when they began on the western frontier in Kentucky. They had waned during the war years but gained even greater popularity after the war when railway and steamship lines vastly improved public transportation. The

middle class began to travel for vacation, and camp meeting resorts soon cropped up as permanent getaways with cottages and eating facilities in such places as Newport, Rhode Island; Coney Island, New York; and Atlantic City, New Jersey. Some of the new resorts developed a full schedule of summer programs including religious services for children and youth, Bible conferences, patriotic rallies, and an annual camp meeting which often featured nationally known speakers and attracted enormous crowds. Between 1860 and 1890 Methodists pioneered the founding of these camp meeting resorts, but other denominations soon followed suit.[15]

By 1870 camp meetings had become "a grass roots movement which claimed thousands of followers, and made the ministers national celebrities." Under the "fiery and aggressive leadership" of John Inskip, holiness camp meetings were held from New Jersey to California.[16] Inskip presided over forty-eight of the fifty-two camp meetings held by the National Camp Meeting Association during its history. Smith's association with Inskip helped her to develop a network of supporters and to receive invitations to speak during the winter months.[17]

Most camp meetings lasted ten days, with services held continuously at several locations, and with some going on into the night. During evening services and on the final Sunday, dozens of preachers mounted a large covered stage, often called the Great Tabernacle. The stage at Oakington held one hundred fifty ministers, while others were said to have accommodated as many as seven hundred.[18] At Oakington in 1870, in one-hundred-degree heat, with few periods of rain to offer relief, attendance swelled to over eight thousand. On opening day hundreds pitched their tents, and a steam pump began bringing spring water to the campsite. The Oakington camp meeting was ecumenical, with Quaker and Presbyterian ministers helping to lead services, but Methodists were clearly in charge. John Thompson presided over preliminary services on Sunday, and Inskip formally opened the meeting on Tuesday in the heat of the day. A reporter wrote that on Thursday a "colored sister from New York gave a thrilling account of her experience of perfect love."[19] The unidentified speaker could have been Smith.

While she and Mazie worked as servants, carrying water and preparing meals for a wealthy white family in exchange for room and board, Smith made a lasting impression at testimony services where anyone was free to speak. The testimonies reached a fever pitch at the 7:30 Love Feast on Sunday morning when five thousand gathered in front of the Tabernacle. According to an observer, about four hundred delivered testimonies within about eight minutes, with six people sometimes speaking at one time.

Although relatively few African-Americans attended white-sponsored camp meetings, the Holiness Camp Meeting Association seemed anxious to include them and noted their presence and participation. One observer at Oakington called the meeting a success because the participants readily shared the bread and cup of Holy Communion across racial lines. He recalled that "about 150 colored persons partook . . . and hearts seemed to be baptized anew with Christian love."[20]

Race Consciousness

Smith said she associated freely with whites because God had removed the fear she once had of white people. That fear, she said, resulted from a sense of inferiority that she no longer had in spite of her subordinate position in society. Yet during her first decade of public life in the 1870s, she wrestled continually with a sense of alienation at white gatherings. She felt embarrassed and often cried when directly confronted with bigotry.[21] She was occasionally ejected from white churches, especially in New York, where she was also forced to ride on top of, instead of inside, the bus. When she attended camp meetings in the Midwest or the South, restaurants refused her service; and at some camp meetings gaping onlookers surrounded her, curious to see the only "colored" woman there. Other African-Americans avoided these humiliating interracial encounters by associating mainly among themselves, but Smith was determined to go where she believed God intended her to be in spite of the price she paid in emotional pain.

After the Oakington meeting closed, Smith and Mazie left for a camp meeting at Sing Sing, New York. Someone had invited her and Mazie to come along and sleep in their tent. In August, while they were in Sing Sing, the AME Church held its first National Camp Meeting in Oakington,[22] several days after the National Association meeting had closed. Instead of remaining for the AME meeting, Smith went to the ME meeting at Sing Sing, thereby signaling her increased involvement with whites and decreased contacts with African-Americans.

Although she was associating more with whites, her first invitations to preach came from black churches. In October 1870, Frisby J. Cooper, pastor of the AME Church in Salem, New Jersey, invited her to conduct a revival in this village near the southeastern tip of the state. Although few AME pastors favored women preaching or taking part in public ministry, some, as Smith put it, "dared to stand by woman's liberty in this, if God called her."[23] According to one account, her pastor, Nelson Turpin, gave

her a letter of recommendation to any pastor who would allow her to speak.[24] Afraid to leave her home and friends, she asked God for a sign. When she got what seemed sure confirmation, she sent Mazie to live in Philadelphia and set out for Salem, where she had nowhere to stay.

First Revival

After a tedious trip, a night of hunger, and a cool reception, she found Pastor Cooper, and the revival began. She based her sermon on Acts 9:2, asking, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" According to her account, which Cooper confirmed, "A revival broke out and spread twenty miles from the colored people to the white people." Crowds packed the church and seekers covered the floor, some asking for salvation, others to be sanctified. The meetings lasted two weeks. Cooper recalled in his report to the *AME Christian Recorder* that Smith had been "a very useful helper in the vineyard of the Lord." The experience at Salem proved to her that "God indeed had chosen and ordained and sent me."[25] After Salem, she preached at the AME church in Millville, New Jersey, and traveled to other AME churches in the area until June 1871. During these first months as an evangelist, she decided to stop working as a washerwoman and become a full-time itinerate evangelist.

At age thirty-three Smith was in many ways typical of the black women in her community, the Fifteenth Election Ward of New York. Two-thirds of them were housekeepers, servants, cooks, or laundresses. Only one taught school and four were dressmakers. Most were married, lived with their husbands, and were in their early thirties. The average single woman was thirty-eight.[26] Being a widow and having only one child, who was then a teenager, set Smith apart from the other women and gave her the mobility to travel and the freedom to give up her steady, if meager, income. She traveled freely and soon became better known on the camp meeting circuit and among Methodists in the New York area. Invitations to speak began to pour in from a variety of churches, black and white, including Henry Ward Beecher's mission churches and John Street ME Church. Although she became a life member at John Street Church and devoted most of the rest of her career to mainly white congregations, she never relinquished her membership in the AME Church.

Since Methodists all over the country were debating whether to extend formal recognition to women preachers, not surprisingly, on the eve of its historic May 1872 General Conference in Nashville, Tennessee, the AME Church leadership struggled over whether to ordain women to preach. The

1872 meeting was historic because it was the first convention held in the South by the black-controlled denomination. Ironically, the ordination of women seemed to overshadow other implications of the gathering. AME churches had long allowed women to speak, licensing them as exhorters and teachers and calling their presentations Bible readings or testimonies. AME women had been preaching since the turn of the century, but none had been officially recognized or ordained. An unidentified writer in the *Christian Recorder*, the official AME newspaper published in Philadelphia, reported that a group of "moderate and incisive" women in St. Louis was pressing the issue. The writer added:

> It would certainly be more consistent not to ask them to speak at all than to allow them to do it without the aid of official sanction. . . . It is to be hoped that the petition which the women of St. Louis have addressed to the General Conference will do away with this one-sided, weak-minded arrangement.[27]

The St. Louis contingency apparently planned to bring the issue to the floor of the 1872 General Conference. However, the subject apparently never came to open debate at the conference, although at least one historian has suggested that the delegates expected Smith to lead a battle for female ordination.[28] She noted that some may have expected her to bring up the subject, but she attended the conference to press the issue of holiness. She had already decided to preach whether licensed or not. According to her account:

> The thought of ordination had never once entered my mind, for I had received my ordination from Him, who said, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that you might go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit might remain." . . . I am satisfied with the ordination that the Lord has given me. Praise His name![29]

Smith agreed that the church should license women to preach, but never raised the issue in Nashville. She was more preoccupied with the issue of holiness and felt rejected by others at the convention, not because she was a preacher, but because she declined to wear the expensive elaborate outfits most other women wore to the General Conference. Her unadorned hats and dresses conflicted with their sense of style and status. In her "big poke Quaker bonnet, with not a flower, not a feather" she was shunned by fellow delegates who considered her out of place.[30]

In a dramatic reversal of fortune, she drew applause and approval and stunned her detractors when the conference moved to Fisk University for

one of its meetings. A Fisk Jubilee Singer who had recognized her the day before, invited her to come on stage and sing with them. The AME newspaper account of the incident called Smith "an evangelist in the truest sense of the word," noting that "her career in the East has been to the glory of God."[31]

After the conference, she remained in the Nashville area, speaking in area churches. She then returned to the northern white camp meeting circuit, going in July to Sea Cliff, a meeting held on the high bluffs overlooking Long Island Sound. Sea Cliff's spacious dining halls and lodging houses were unfinished, but the camp meeting went on in makeshift facilities.[32] Afterward, she and Mazie moved on to Martha's Vineyard for the Yarmouth Camp Meeting, where she delivered a Sunday morning message. In early September she was in Williamsville, Illinois, about eight miles northeast of Springfield, for the Thirteenth National Holiness Camp Meeting, where she helped Mary Inskip, John Inskip's wife, conduct the children's meeting, a role which signaled greater recognition of her potential by national camp meeting leaders.[33]

Following the lead of the AME National Conference, the Northern-based National Holiness Association decided to bring a major meeting to the South. They hoped to mend the breach between Northern and Southern Methodists that had developed because of their differences over slavery. The Fourteenth National Holiness Camp Meeting was to be held in Knoxville, Tennessee. Some, including John Inskip's wife, Mary, asked her not to attend the Knoxville meeting because she might be harmed by offended whites. Others thought her presence might disrupt the meeting. She decided to go. Held in a wooded area with an unfinished campsite, the Knoxville meeting went on without incident, even though accounts indicated that bitterness on both sides still lingered from the war. After the Knoxville camp meeting, Smith wrote that she "held some meetings with my own people" and returned to New York to conduct revivals during the fall and winter.[34]

In the summer of 1873, from July 23 to August 1, she played a major role in the Sixteenth National Holiness Camp Meeting, which was held on a twenty-five acre park the association had bought in Landisville, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[35] She led prayer meetings, testified at length at the general services, and conducted a separate meeting for African-Americans, many of whom were there as waiters for whites on the campground. During testimony, Smith publicly aired her struggles with the race issue, telling the congregants that since she had been sanctified, she had stopped desiring to be white and was now "glad that God made me as

I was." In spite of the often virulent prejudice she encountered, she claimed she held no bitterness toward whites, but loved them all and "wanted them to be saved."[36]

In the evening she conducted a service for the black camp-goers. In a paternalistic tone, echoing the then common notions that African-Americans were exotic and peculiar, a reporter wrote:

> The lively and impressible nature of this class began to exhibit itself. The singing was so full of soul-stirring power, that it soon attracted a large crowd of white spectators and participants. In prayer there was a considerable margin of eccentricity, but entirely characteristic and sincere.

As far as it was possible or prudent to do so, Sister Smith kept her congregation under good control, walking up and down among those who were kneeling and seeking salvation. Her design was to show them the simple way to be saved by faith.[37]

New York Times reporters, describing activities at camp meetings, made similar observations about black participants. In an article about a Sing Sing meeting in which black ministers participated, the writer described "the emotional temperament peculiar to the Negro, and the warm imagination with which nature had endowed him."[38] In spite of lingering racial stereotypes, camp meetings allowed more racial, gender, and class equality than participants experienced in the general society. At camp meetings rich, poor, and middle class; black, white, and native American; and male and female mingled freely. The gifted but poorly educated from lower-class backgrounds could achieve recognition and fame. Female revival leaders, such as Maggie Van Cott, led services at camp meetings and developed considerable reputations as preachers.

Separate Services

Although blacks were allowed to take part in all sessions, camp meeting organizers often scheduled special worship services geared toward African-Americans but attended by both black and white. Blacks at mainly white camp meetings were also often put in a separate section in the front, near the speaker's platform. White camp-goers enjoyed African-American music and the fervent worship style they observed in black religious gatherings. The "colored people's" meeting Smith conducted at Landisville went on until midnight, despite campground regulations ending meetings much earlier.[39] The governor of Delaware reportedly pitched his tent near

the area of the campground reserved for black people so that he could listen to "the harmony and deep religious sentiment of their campgoing songs." Camp meeting organizers often reserved the end-of-night service for African-Americans to hold their meetings and gave them the first part of the morning service "generally at the break of day" so that their "often expressive and beautiful melodies"[40] would be the last thing heard at night and the first thing heard in the morning. Smith apparently went along with this arrangement, as she never publicly objected and was always allowed to move around freely at campgrounds.

In 1874 Smith began attending camp meetings at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, a holiness resort where wealthy, influential Methodists had begun to build permanent summer homes. Rev. William B. Osborn, Ocean Grove founder, established similar resorts in Florida, Niagara Falls, the Northwest, and eventually in Australia and India. The two-hundred-acre Ocean Grove campground was a shaded area five hundred yards from the Atlantic surf. Located six miles from the fashionable Long Branch resort, with its more secular pursuits, Ocean Grove became a summer haven for Methodists from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. The wealthy erected cottages and guest houses, which they sometimes rented. Tents rented from $4 to $18 for ten days, depending on the size. Those who could not afford to rent a cottage or house lived in tents or cheaply built cabins in the woods.[41]

Smith quickly became a celebrity at Ocean Grove. On August 23, 1874, while other meetings were in session, a large crowd gathered at the tent erected by the Wharton Street ME Church of Philadelphia where Smith was scheduled to speak. As the throng increased, the meeting moved to the main speakers' stand and went on so long that it delayed the afternoon service. A reporter's account stated,"This wonderfully gifted woman appealed to the people with such persuasive eloquence in speech and song that hundreds signified their faith in, and personal desire for, the experience of a clean heart."[42]

While at Ocean Grove, Smith told a congregation how sanctification had "saved [her] from the desire to be white." She described her experiences with racial segregation, her being "seized" by a train conductor and forced to ride in the smoking car, after which, she said, she prayed for the conductor, and compassion replaced resentment.[43] She soon became one of the social reformers and AME leaders who came annually to Ocean Grove.[44]

The more involved she became in a public ministry, the more pressure mounted in her private life. Since she had given up working as a

washerwoman, she depended on sporadic domestic work and irregular, unexpected donations for financial support. As a result, she could not afford to keep her daughter, Mazie, in school. She wanted Mazie to be a missionary in Africa. Since nearly all foreign missionaries had substantial formal education, she had sent Mazie to a Catholic school, and in 1873 and 1874, to Oberlin College in Ohio. Mazie's fees for tuition, room, board, books, and laundry at Oberlin totaled about $48 a year, a considerable sum, given Smith's meager resources.[45] When Smith could not afford to send Mazie back to Oberlin, she enrolled her at Wilberforce, the AME college in Xenia, Ohio, but she could not afford the expense. In 1878 a white woman she met at a camp meeting offered to help pay Mazie's school fees, and she sent her to Baltimore, where she ultimately finished school.

Smith lost contact with her elder brother after she married her first husband, Calvin Devine, and seldom saw any of her siblings after their father died in 1870. Their mother had died sometime in the 1850s and their father had left the AME Zion Church, which he had joined in Philadelphia, and unhappily remarried.[46] Smith agonized over her father's spiritual condition and prayed for his sanctification until the final months of his life, when she was finally satisfied that his spiritual life had been restored. But the more she traveled and preached the less contact she had with family.

Temperance Crusade

While Smith's family life diminished, her network in the Holiness Movement increased. In 1875, after she conducted a revival at Philadelphia's Pitman ME Church in January,[47] the following month she shared the speakers' podium with Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) leaders in New York. In 1875 she joined the WCTU in Brooklyn; and on March 18, when the New York WCTU celebrated its first anniversary with a prayer meeting of five hundred women at Hanson Place Baptist Church in Brooklyn, Smith shared the stage with Mary Coffin Johnson, the Brooklyn chapter's founder and first president.[48]

A Quaker born in Cincinnati and educated at Earlham College, Mary Coffin at seventeen married Eli Johnson, and in 1873, during a world-wide economic depression, they moved to New York where he became a prosperous banker. She got involved in temperance work in 1874, the same year the WCTU became a national organization. When the WCTU held its first convention in Cleveland in November Johnson was runner-up

to Frances Willard in the election for corresponding secretary. The WCTU later elected Johnson as its first national secretary, and she founded the group's first newspaper, the *Union Signal*.[49] Smith's relationship with Mary Coffin Johnson proved pivotal to her success as a foreign missionary and her prominence in the WCTU.

Meanwhile, Smith's growing involvement with white-controlled organizations antagonized some AME church leaders. A biting editorial in the official AME Church newspaper accused her of abandoning black people for access to wealth and opportunity in white circles. Suggesting that she return to the AME fold and take the lead in rejuvenating the faltering Parent Mite Society, a women's missionary support group, the editorial charged:

> Where is Amanda Smith? *She belongs to us*, and we ought to set her to work. Tell me nothing about the work she is doing among our white brethren. *They don't need her.* They are rich in spiritual gifts and spiritual work. We are poor, languishing and dying. We tell Amanda Smith to come home. . . . Let her not give a deaf ear. *Let her not prefer the riches of Egypt.* Her own Sisters need her; and the good old Methodist rule is, not only to do good, but to do it to those who need it most (emphasis added).[50]

Smith believed that God had called her to preach, not to organize and raise money among women, and she would not have had access to as many pulpits and stages if she confined herself to the AME Church and worked only among black people. At any rate, she enjoyed associating with wealthy, influential whites, and during the spring and summer of 1875 solidified some of her most important and lasting friendships among female holiness activists, especially at Ocean Grove.

That year Ocean Grove hosted three camp meetings: the ten-day Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness, which began July 9, a two-day Temperance Meeting on August 11 and 12, and its own annual Camp Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness from August 17 through August 27. Smith attended all three. Her singing ability reached new levels of power at the first holiness camp meeting that summer, where on Sunday night, an observer said, she "stirred the people . . . like the ocean is stirred by the south wind, as she sung with unwonted power: 'Jesus of Nazareth passeth by.'"[51] On the last day of the meeting when Walter Palmer tired from preaching and asked Smith to sing while he rested, "[w]ith a voice resonant as a bugle note, pathetic and sweet as the strains of an Aeolian harp, she commenced . . . and as the vast multitude took up the chorus

preachers and people wept, shouted, and made the grove resound with 'glory to God.'"[52]

Smith returned to Ocean Grove for the Temperance Meeting on August 11 and 12, where Mary Johnson, the WCTU's national president Annie Whittenmyer, and corresponding secretary Frances Willard were featured speakers. The meeting passed resolutions against alcohol imports and sales and inaugurated a petition to Congress "to investigate liquor traffic."[53]

She returned to Ocean Grove in late August. One afternoon at the Surf Meeting, with about 8,000 gathered on the beach,[54] Frances Willard recalled:

> I shall never forget one Sunday evening, and the surf meeting, of which she was the principal figure. Anywhere from ten to thirty thousand people were seated on the sand. . . . Everybody felt the grandeur of the scene, and was stirred by the *basso profundo* of the sea. Everybody wanted something said about it, but no speaker's voice could reach them all. Some person with a happy thought improvised a sort of stage, made of chairs and dry goods boxes, two or three men lent a hand, and a weird figure took position high enough for all to see that it was Amanda Smith, the African sibyl, the Christian saint. Her tall, well-proportioned figure was outlined against the sunset, her long arms swinging to the rhythm of the tune; her wonderful, velvety voice rang out in a vibrant contralto, deep, and so swelling that all could hear, as she sang (beckoning toward the ocean):
>
> 'There's a wideness in God's mercy like the wideness of the sea,
> 'There's a kindness in His justice that is more than liberty.'
>
> She went through the whole of that wonderful hymn all alone. Tears came into women's eyes; little children stopped their play, and men pulled their hats down farther over their faces. It was a grand hour, and Amanda put the final touch to it.[55]

After singing, she spoke from the 15th chapter of John. At the closing meeting on Friday, she spoke in the crowded tabernacle. In her "plain, convincing way," she exhorted believers to trust God for everything, then concluded by saying, "If you want to be holy, ask him to do the work now. His will is that we all be holy. Let us be as God wants us and do what he tells us, and it will come out right. Put all now on the altar." Scores came to the front for prayer, asking God for holiness and "down came the sacred fire, consuming self and sin, and purifying the heart."[56]

The next year in late August, Smith returned to the annual holiness camp meeting at Ocean Grove where she spoke briefly at the Sabbath

"love-feast."[57] She had established a pattern of conducting city revivals during the winter months and going to rural camp meetings in the summer and had quickly acquired a reputation as a speaker in the Northeast and Midwest.

Woman Pastor

In February 1877, Anna Oliver, the new pastor of First Methodist Episcopal Church in Passaic, New Jersey, invited Smith to help revitalize her new congregation, whose numbers had dropped to fifteen.[58] After reading several hymns Smith delivered a message on holiness based on the twelfth chapter of Romans, from which she often preached [see appendix A for sermon text]. She traveled for the next six months without returning home. When she stopped in New York for the Tuesday Meeting at Walter and Phoebe Palmer's home, she told the group she had been "a little fearful" during her travels and missed being at home.[59]

Smith moved back to Philadelphia sometime in late 1875 or early 1876 when members of Pitman ME Church raised $2,000 to help pay for a $3,000, three-story brick house for her at 1817 Addison Street, between Lombard and Pine in the Seventh Ward.[60] After they furnished the front bedroom and parlor, Smith packed her irons, ironing board, and the old chair she prayed beside, and she and Mazie left their small, rear alley home in New York. Since she had no regular income but relied on donations from revivals and camp meetings, she had no idea how she would pay the balance owed on the house. With mixed feelings of gratitude and apprehension, she moved with Mazie into their new home in Philadelphia.

After months on the road in 1877, she returned to Philadelphia and took part in a holiness meeting at Mother Bethel AME Church, where the pastor had experienced sanctification through the preaching of William McDonald, one of the National Holiness Association leaders. Mary and John Inskip participated in the service at Bethel, Inskip delivering the main sermon. Then Smith spoke, telling how she had been "converted clearly, and radically, and positively, and unmistakably, and tremendously, in 1856," then sanctified at Inskip's church.[61]

In the summer she went back to the camp meeting circuit, helping lead the WCTU's first Ocean Grove camp meeting. She conducted consecration services and led the congregation of four thousand in singing "Who's on the Lord's Side?"[62] In 1877 the WCTU began its ascendence to the forefront of the temperance movement, and great crowds gathered at this Ocean Grove camp meeting to hear their leaders.[63]

At the end of August Smith led services at the annual holiness camp meeting at Ocean Grove, which the *New York Times* called "the greatest camp meeting ever held in New Jersey" with an estimated thirteen thousand at the camp ground for Sunday services. In September she remained at Ocean Grove to rest until fall and winter revivals began.[64]

Philadelphia

While enjoying success on the road during the summer, Smith's personal affairs unraveled. Before the year ended, her financial woes over her house in Philadelphia were being aired in public. The Ocean Grove camp meeting committee offered her rent-free lodging, and in August, at the end of a triumphant summer, Smith told the gathering that God had provided her a home in Philadelphia and another one at Ocean Grove.[65] Rumors quickly spread that she had two houses when in reality she was unable to pay for the one house in Philadelphia. Donations dried up because her supporters concluded she had more than enough. Her problems mounted when she agreed to mortgage the house to loan Andrew Marshall money to save his bakery and confectionery business at 2146 South Street. Since Marshall was one of the Pitman Church members instrumental in acquiring the house for her, she felt obligated to help bail him out of financial trouble brought on by the country-wide economic depression. But soon after she had given him the first loan, Marshall needed more money and asked her to mortgage the house again. She reluctantly agreed, assuming that a businessman like Marshall knew more than she about financial matters. As a result, she had to raise $40 a month to pay her debts: the balance she owed the church's Building Association for the house, two additional mortgages, ground rent, and taxes.[66]

The *Christian Standard* published an article in mid-August asking her supporters to help her pay back taxes and late mortgage payments because "Mrs. Smith is placed in a very unpleasant position—being in debt, while many of her friends think her in good comfortable circumstances." Smith felt trapped by public opinion. Before going to the *Standard* for help, she admitted:

> I was ashamed to tell anyone, it would look to white people like bad management on the part of those who were my friends. Then I knew what some of my own people would say, and had said already, that I was a kind of a "white folks' nigger," and I knew they would say, "That is just what I told you it would all come to, can't tell me about white folks." They wouldn't see God in any of it, so here I was.[67]

Although her financial problems had worsened, by 1878 she was continuing to enjoy public success. She spent a week at both of Henry Ward Beecher's mission churches in Brooklyn, Bethany and the Mayflower. Beecher was one of the most prominent preachers in the country. He had been pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn since 1847. An outspoken opponent of slavery, he also advocated woman's suffrage. In 1874 a former friend accused him of committing adultery with his wife and sued him for damages, yet he remained a popular clergyman whose invitation to Smith indicated how far she had come in the ten years since she launched her public ministry.

Keswick Convention

Admirers offered to pay her passage to England for a vacation, but she declined because she feared crossing the ocean. After Smith prayed and asked God for courage, Mary Coffin Johnson invited her to the 1878 Broadlands Conference in England.[68] Johnson had made frequent social trips to England before being invited to return in 1876 to address upper class women on temperance. During her tour, she spoke to audiences of up to 3,000. Johnson planned another temperance speaking tour in England after the Broadlands Conference and wanted Smith to go along.[69]

Three years earlier, in 1875, popular writer and speaker Hannah Whitall Smith, a key Broadlands organizer, had considered inviting her to the conferences as an experiment. Whitall Smith and her husband, Robert Pearsal Smith, both prominent Quaker advocates of Wesleyan holiness, were among the sixteen people from the United States and Great Britain who met for six days in London in May 1873 to initiate cooperation between holiness advocates in the two countries.[70] When the group met again in 1874, they convened in the English countryside at the Broadlands estate of Lord Cowper-Temple. Hundreds attended and Robert Pearsal Smith acted as chair.[71] In August the group held a similar meeting at Oxford. From 1875, when the conference site shifted to Keswick, a small town in Northwestern England, the meetings became known as the Keswick Conventions and became annual events that inspired similar conferences throughout the world. These "higher life" meetings primarily attracted pious members of England's aristocracy and upper classes.

Whitall Smith wanted Smith to accompany them to the holiness meeting at Keswick, but given her perception of the racial climate in the United States, she feared that Smith would not be allowed to travel alone

on an American steamer or would be excluded from cruise activities unless they took her along under the pretense that she was their maid.

"She could go with us as our servant, but not at our expense," she had suggested to her husband as they prepared for the 1875 meeting. "This position would solve all embarrassments as to her entertainment anywhere." If Smith did not "take" in England, she mused, they could simply send her home.[72] Whitall Smith apparently decided not to offer such an arrangement. Three years later, Mary Coffin Johnson paid Smith's fare to England, and Smith faced her first transoceanic voyage alone.[73]

Notes

1. Amanda Smith, *An Autobiography: The Story of the Lord's Dealings with Mrs. Amanda Smith, the Colored Evangelist* (1893); first repr. (Chicago: Afro-Am Press, Division of Afro-Am Books, Inc., 1969), 80-81.

2. Smith, *Autobiography,* 119. Charles Edward White, *The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Francis Asbury Press, 1986), 163. Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980), 36.

3. H. Wilson, comp., *New York City Register*, (New York: John F. Trow), 1869. William Perris, *Maps of the City of New York, Surveyed under Directions of Insurance Companies of Said City* (New York: Perris and Brown, 1869), vol. 3, 50.

4. *A Guide to the Churches and Missions in the City of New York* (New York: New York City Mission, 1870), 18. H. Wilson, *Trow's New York City Directory, 1870* (New York: John F. Trow, 1870).

5. Smith, *Autobiography*, 100-109.

6. Smith, *Autobiography,* 114-115.

7. Edward R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania: 1639-1861* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1911), 141.

8. William Henry Smith, Certificate of Death, 25 June 1869, Municipal Archives, New York City.

9. James Henry Smith, Certificate of Death, November 3, 1869, Municipal Archives, New York City. Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 106. McDannell notes that Greenwood Cemetery, established in 1838, was established as part of a civic reform movement intended to move cemeteries away from crowded urban areas into rural settings where each of the interred would be insured an individual, permanent grave in a natural setting landscaped with "elegant trees and luxuriant vegetation."

10. Smith, *Autobiography,* 112.

11. Smith, *Autobiography,* 164.

12. "Fifth National Camp Meeting," *Guide to Holiness* (New York), August 1870, 10.

13. Smith, *Autobiography*, 164.

14. W. McDonald and John E. Searles, *The Life of John Inskip* (Boston: McDonald and Gill, 1885), 207.

15. Kenneth O. Brown, *Holy Ground: A Study of the American Camp Meeting* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), 29-33. Brown notes that after camp meetings lost their popularity, the campgrounds often developed into incorporated municipalities such as Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts; Ocean Grove, Pitman Grove, and Mount Tabor, New Jersey; Ocean Park and Old Orchard Beach, Maine; Round Lake and Shelter Island, New York; Lakeside, Ohio; Rehoboth Beach, Delaware; Mountain Lake Park, Maryland; and Pacific Grove, California.

16. Brown, *Holy Ground,* 29-33.

17. Charles A. Parker, "A Study of the Preaching at the Ocean Grove, New Jersey, Camp Meeting, 1870-1900" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1959), 143.

18. "Fifth National Camp Meeting at Oakington: A New Field, A New Victory," *Advocate of Christian Holiness*, August 1870, 38.

19. *Guide to Holiness*, August 1870, 13. *Advocate*, August 1870, 38-40.

20. *Guide to Holiness*, August 1870, 13.

21. Smith, *Autobiography*, 170-175.

22. "The First National Camp Meeting," *Christian Recorder* (Philadelphia) 23 July 1870, 4.

23. Smith, *Autobiography,* 132.

24. Marshall W. Taylor, *The Life, Travels, Labors, and Helpers of Mrs. Amanda Smith: The Famous Negro Missionary Evangelist* (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1887), 26-27.

25. "From Salem, N.J.," *AME Recorder*, 1 April 1871, 4. Smith, *Autobiography*, 158-159.

26. *U.S. Census*, 1870, Ward 15, New York City.

27. *AME Recorder*, 20 April 1872, 1.

28. Bert James Loewenberg and Ruth Bogin, eds., *Black Women in Nineteenth Century American Life: Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings (1976), 4th printing* (The University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985), 29.

29. Smith, *Autobiography*, 200 and 204.

30. Smith, *Autobiography,* 199.

31. *AME Recorder*, General Conference Edition, 16 May 1872, 1.

32. Smith, *Autobiography*, 216-217. "Tenth National Camp Meeting," *Advocate*, August 1872, 41.

33. "Thirteenth National Camp-Meeting: Williamsville, Ill.," *Advocate*, October 1872, 91. Smith, *Autobiography*, 208.

34. W. T. Harlow, "Fourteenth National Camp-Meeting, at Knoxville, Tenn.," *Advocate*, November 1872, 109-110. Smith, *Autobiography*, 208.

35. Adam Wallace, ed., *A Modern Pentecost: Embracing a Record of the Sixteenth National Camp-Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness* (Philadelphia: Methodist Home Journal Publishing House, 1873), 12-13.

36. Wallace, *A Modern Pentecost*, 89-91.

37. Wallace, *A Modern Pentecost*, 203.

38. *New York Times*, 17 August 1877, 5.

39. *New York Times*, 17 August 1877, 5.

40. Wallace, *A Modern Pentecost*, 203-204.

41. *Advocate*, July 1870, 31. *Ocean Grove Record*, 19 June 1875, n.p.; and 19 August 1876, 346.

42. "Ocean Grove Camp Meeting," *Christian Standard and Home Journal*, 5 December 1874, 283.

43. E. H. Stokes, comp., *Ocean Grove. Its Origins and Progress, As Shown in the Annual Reports Presented by the President, to which Are Added Other Papers of Interest* (Published by Order of the Association, 1874), 75-76.

44. Parker, "A Study of the Preaching at Ocean Grove," 127.

45. Smith, *Autobiography*, 218. George M. Jones, comp., *Oberlin College Alumni Directory, 75th Anniversary Edition* (Cleveland: Oberlin Hubbell Printing Co., 1908), 902. Oberlin College Archives, unpublished documents.

46. Smith, *Autobiography*, 218-219.

47. *Christian Standard*, 26 December 1874, 413.

48. *Christian Standard, 26 December 1874, 413. Zion's Herald, Boston*, 25 February 1875, 59; and 1 April 1875, n.p.

49. Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 39 and 45. *Our Union*, February 1877, 1. Ernest Hurst Cherrington, ed., *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, vol. 3 (Westerville, Ohio: American Issue Publishing Company, 1926), 1406.

50. "The Mite Society," *Christian Recorder*, 4 March 1875, 4.

51. "Editorial Notes," *Ocean Grove Record*, 24 July 1875, 1.

52. "The Holiness Meeting," *Ocean Grove Record*, 28 July 1875, 2.

53. "The Temperance Meeting," *Ocean Grove Record*, 18 August 1875, 2.

54. "The Sabbath-School," *Ocean Grove Record*, 25 August 1875, 6.

55. Frances E. Willard, "Amanda Smith, the Colored Pioneer," *Union Signal*, 20 September 1888, 7.

56. "The Camp Meeting," *Ocean Grove Record*, 25 August 1875; 6 and 11 September 1875, 1.

57. "Camp Meeting Love Feast," *Ocean Grove Record*, 9 September, 1876, n.p.

58. Kenneth E. Rowe, ed., "The Ordination of Women: Round One; Anna Oliver and the General Conference of 1880," *Methodist History* 12, no. 3 (April 1974): 61.

59. "New York Tuesday Meeting," *Christian Standard*, 23 June 1877, 195.

60. Smith, *Autobiography*, 229. Isaac Costa, comp., *Gopsill's Philadelphia Directory (1878)*, 1342. Mother Bethel AME Church Records, 1760-1874, Membership Lists. Amanda Smith is listed as a member of class no. 16. The exact year when the Philadelphia house was purchased is not clear from Smith's autobiography. According to her account it would have been 1878, but the 1877 article in the *Ocean Grove Record* reports her making remarks about now having two homes, one in Philadelphia and one at Ocean Grove, in 1877. Also, her name appears in the *New York City Directory* every year from 1867 to 1875 and does not appear afterward. Her name does appear in the *Philadelphia City Directory* from 1876 to 1879, meaning that she must have moved back to Philadelphia in 1876. When she wrote the autobiography in 1893, she must have forgotten the year of her return to Philadelphia. She herself notes (see Smith, *Autobiography*, 230) that she had been living in the house for about a year when the United States was celebrating its Centennial, which was 1876. Therefore, she must have forgotten the year when she wrote on a previous page that she had moved in 1878. This is one of several times when her chronology is slightly off.

61. "Crumbs from the Feast at Bethel," *Christian Standard*, 30 June 1877, 205.

62. "Ocean Grove Temperance Conference," *Our Union*, August 1877, 1. "The Women's Temperance Meeting," *Ocean Grove Record*, 28 July 1877, 234.

63. Brown, *Holy Ground*, 29.

64. "The Ocean Grove Camp Meeting," *New York Times*, 25 August 1877, 8. "Editorial Notes," *Ocean Grove Record*, 29 September 1877, 1.

65. "The Camp Meeting," *Ocean Grove Record*, 11 September 1875, 1.

66. *McElroy's Philadelphia City Directory (1878)*, 1064. Smith, *Autobiography*, 230-232.

67. W. C. Frazer, letter, "Mrs. Amanda Smith," *Christian Standard*, 18 August 1877, 261.

68. Smith, *Autobiography*, 236 and 245.

69. *Our Union*, February 1877, n.p.

70. Earl C. Kaylor Jr., "Hannah Whitall Smith," *Notable American Women 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, ed. Edward T. James (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 314.

71. David D. Bundy, "Keswick Higher Life Movement," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987), 518. Kaylor, "Hannah Whitall Smith," 314.

72. Hannah Whitall Smith, letter to Robert Pearsal Smith, 11 April 1875, Papers of Hannah Whitall Smith, ARC 1988-003, Box 5, Asbury Theological Seminary, Lexington, Ky.

73. Smith, *Autobiography*, 249.

Chapter Four

Around the World: 1878-1889

In 1868, when Smith experienced "the second blessing" at Inskip's church, she had joyfully exclaimed, "If there was a platform around the world I would be willing to get on it and walk and tell everybody of this sanctifying power of God."[1] In 1878, she stepped onto that symbolic platform as she sailed from New York to Liverpool, England, on the steamship *Ohio*.

Since black travelers seldom rode first class or even sailed overseas, except as servants, curious fellow passengers boldly asked Smith how she could afford her ticket and what she planned to do in England.[2] Enroute, a Quaker persuaded the captain to ask her to conduct a Sunday worship service. With no clergyman aboard, the captain agreed. She led hymns and developed a sermon using scenes passed during the voyage as illustrations. Afterward, the appreciative congregation crowded around to congratulate her. A Philadelphian wrote home:

> I could not help thinking of the change in American institutions that has thus reversed the rule of a few years ago, and in the execution of the Civil Rights bill [which] not only permitted a Negro woman to cross the ocean as a first class passenger in the main saloon of an American steamer, but which allowed her to conduct religious services for the people on board. . . . I do not believe there has heretofore been a case in which an emancipated slave has conducted the religious service on a Sunday morning on any of our great trans-Atlantic steamers.[3]

Mary Coffin Johnson met Smith at Liverpool, and Smith spent a week in Leeds before going to Keswick, where Johnson introduced her as her "colored sister and co-worker." After Smith sang and addressed the group, Lord and Lady Mount-Temple, two of the meeting's prominent sponsors,

ushered her to the forefront of the gathering. An observer wrote that Lady Mount-Temple embraced and kissed her "before all the people" and Lord Mount-Temple escorted her to dinner, where she sat at his right hand.[4] Afterward, a network of wealthy holiness and temperance activists became her eager hosts and patrons.

While her popularity grew in public, conflict continued to plague her private life. Differences between her and her daughter surfaced in 1878 while Smith was in England. Mazie, then about twenty-three, wrote Smith asking for permission to quit college and begin teaching in Baltimore. After Smith agreed, Mazie wrote again saying she wanted to marry. Smith asked her to postpone marriage until she had spent some time with her in England. But Mazie decided to marry first, then come to England. Angry and disappointed, Smith told her to stay in the United States because if she married she would no longer belong to her and would have forfeited an opportunity "that not many colored girls have had, and that you will not have again." Smith accused her of thinking "more of the man" than of her mother and taking "him in preference [of her] after all I have said."[5] Although she later approved of Mazie's husband and said she could not have chosen a better man for her daughter, she missed her daughter's wedding and the two of them grew farther apart.

Mission to India

After the Keswick meeting, Smith accompanied Johnson to conferences and temperance meetings throughout England. In November they both addressed the Yorkshire Women's Christian Temperance Association conference at Leeds. In February 1879, Johnson returned to New York, and Smith remained in England. As Smith's popularity in increased, she conducted revivals and spoke at temperance meetings in both England and Scotland. In spite of fatigue, she accepted invitations to Yorkshire, Newcastle on Tyne, and Glasgow.[6]

In the fall, while resting from a long speaking tour, she canceled the rest of her appointments to accept an invitation from William B. Osborn to join him in India. Osborn, founder of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting and member of the National Camp Meeting Association, had gone to India as a holiness missionary. Bostonian Lucy R. Drake, in England enroute to India, asked Smith to travel with her. Friends of Drake's, including Asa Mahan, raised money to pay Smith's fare. Drake was a "faith" missionary and Oberlin College graduate. She and Osborn were well known in New England as radicals on racial matters. Osborn had been called the "colored

Presiding Elder" because he had worked among blacks in the South. Since Drake preferred the overland route, rather than sailing around Africa to India, the two women conducted a whirlwind tour of Europe, stopping in Paris, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Alexandria, and at the Great Pyramids of Giza before sailing from Suez to India in October 1879.[7]

After seventeen days at sea, they arrived in Bombay, where Smith began preaching by January 1880. She moved on to Calcutta, where Osborn reported that thousands came to hear her "glowing experiences, thrilling songs, and clear teachings." Osborn claimed that many Indians who had previously refused to enter a Methodist chapel came to hear Smith preach. She conducted revivals in major cities and travelled extensively with Osborn and Bishop James M. Thoburn, the pioneer Methodist missionary in India. Thoburn had first heard Smith in 1876 at a camp meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio. He observed that her singing drew and held larger audiences in India than any other who had come before her because she had "that indefinable something we call power." Although she had no official credentials, Thoburn and Osborn included Smith in the inner Methodist missionary circles. She attended business meetings and social gatherings and helped them conduct services. In 1880, after the three of them had been preaching together in Allahabad, she remained behind, continuing to preach after the other two had left. She pushed herself to exhaustion, and as Osborn observed in one of his letters home, "her excessive labors are telling on her health."[8]

Along with success in India, Smith faced impassioned opposition to women preaching and to holiness doctrine. In a letter to John Inskip she expressed her concerns about equality for women:

> The people here in this country think it a dreadful thing for a woman to speak in a public congregation. Many of the English and Presbyterians, and some that have been born here, never heard of such a thing in this dark land, where the condition of woman has been so dreadful and degrading. It seems that the Christians have caught the spirit, and like to have it so. It is surprising. . . . I believe the Methodist Church has a work to do in this land in liberating woman, and giving her true place.[9]

According to Smith, some Methodist leaders in the North India Conference, who had once claimed to be sanctified, now had either "lost the witness" or simply failed to "profess or preach it." She blamed the Methodist missions' limited success on the fact that missionaries had not taught Christian converts to seek sanctification.[10]

The North and South India Methodist Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church were founded in 1873. The northern conference, in the midst of Muslim India, had only 275 members seven years later. The southern conference, in a predominantly Hindu region, claimed 1,700 English and 450 Indian members, a small number in such a vast subcontinent.[11] India's resistance to Christian conversion stemmed, in part, from Christianity's being the religion of a foreign power that ruled the country as an alien, and often racist, overlord. The official church of the British colonial government was the Church of England, not the Methodist Church, which was then a relatively young denomination. Also impeding the growth of Christian churches in India was the fact that both Islam and Hinduism were firmly established in Indian culture, and Christian missionaries usually insisted that Indians embrace Western culture, which they equated with Christian faith.

Undaunted by obstacles, Smith brought to India the same message and style that won her fame in the United States and England. Late in 1880, she conducted a ten-day revival at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Agra. According to the pastor, James Lyon, she preached on "Consecration," "Unbelief," "Faith," and "The New Birth," and on the final night, based her message on Paul's description of love in I Corinthians 13. "A sweet spirit of love and tenderness rested upon preacher and people," Lyon reported; and when she invited seekers to gather around the Communion rail, many came to pray and an unusual number remained afterward to testify. Every Christian in Agra attended each night, he claimed, adding, "We can say that never have we been privileged to listen night after night to such simple, deep, heart-searching, systematic, scriptural, and Holy Ghost preaching." After Agra, Smith accompanied Lucy Drake to a reunion of North and South India Methodist Conferences in Allahabad, where she shared her "glowing experiences, thrilling songs, and clear teachings."[12]

Mountain Retreat

Exhausted from long days and nights preaching in the heat and humidity of India's scorching plains and sickened from recurring respiratory problems, Smith went to rest and get medical help at a Methodist retreat in the Himalayan Mountains. After a few weeks her health markedly improved, but an earthquake that struck the area forced her to leave the rejuvenating mountains long before she had planned.[13]

She returned to the speaking circuit, addressing the Monthly Mission-

ary Conference in Calcutta, where she said India's Christians should begin "a mighty crying unto God for a special outpouring of the Holy Ghost" because "sermons lacked testimony [and] testimony would never spoil a sermon"—a subtle reference to what she considered the restrictive formality in most of India's Methodist meetings.[14]

She spent late March and most of April 1881 in Burma sightseeing and visiting missions and churches. In Rangoon, she met a group of about twenty black seamen from Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States who had remained to live and work as railway engineers, as conductors, or in government service. After conducting a service for them at a Methodist church, she held meetings at several Baptist churches before returning to Calcutta. Smith said she liked India and intended a longer stay, but William and Lucy [Drake] Osborn, who had married after Drake and Smith arrived in India, had left for Australia. Since they departed, Smith returned to England, arriving in mid-June of 1881.[15]

While in India, Smith had decided to briefly visit West Africa before returning to the United States. She went to Leeds to rest with a friend who was connected to the Keswick Convention. She spent November and part of December in Ireland, leading a two-week service at a Quaker meeting, another two-week revival at a Wesleyan church in Portadown, and a service in the schoolroom of a Presbyterian church. Two of her Irish hosts had previously provided hospitality for Walter and Phoebe Palmer in 1862, and Smith was amazed that she had lived in the same place where the Palmers had lived nearly twenty years before and that she had received such a warm reception in Ireland. She wrote Mary Inskip, "You know how the Irish at home seem to hate the colored people. Well I have seen none of that spirit here." After a successful tour, she returned to London, where English supporters had raised her fare to Liberia. She sailed from Liverpool on Christmas Eve, 1881, and on January 18, 1882, arrived in West Africa, which she proudly proclaimed to be "the land of my forefathers."[16]

Liberia

Methodist missionary Mary Sharpe met Smith at the harbor and took her in for four weeks. Sharpe had taught former slaves in South Carolina but left with most other white reformers when federal troops withdrew their protection in 1876. The Methodist Episcopal Church then appointed Sharpe assistant teacher in the Monrovia Seminary. The ME Mission Board had supported her in Liberia since 1879.[17] In contrast, as an

itinerate missionary, Smith had no official backing or financial support. A few friends sent sporadic contributions, but the annual sum of about twenty pounds that an Irish woman collected and sent her constituted her only regular income. While the average missionary received one hundred pounds a year, Smith survived on a fifth as much.[18]

Besides continuous financial need, Smith continued to suffer from chronic respiratory problems and arthritis. After three weeks in Monrovia, she caught malaria. Lacking natural immunities and effective medication, nineteenth-century visitors in West Africa frequently suffered and died from malaria. As Smith observed, "everybody must go through this wicked gate. . . . It seemed to shake every bone and nerve in my body."[19] With Sharpe caring for her, she survived this initial bout, but endured malaria attacks for the next six years.

She had been in Liberia only two months when her evangelistic mission there began to fall short of her expectations. Although "beautifully situated and well laid out . . . [with] some real good brick homes," she observed that Monrovia had many houses lying in ruin from disrepair. This initial disillusionment with appearances foreshadowed a deeper discouragement to come.

At first the Methodist clergy warmly welcomed her, and she attended the Annual Conference, where the pastor of Monrovia's Methodist Church invited her to take charge of Sunday evening services. She spoke again on Tuesday and Wednesday. Since Smith was preaching to the settlers, Mary Sharpe accused her of neglecting the indigenous Africans. Sharpe had leveled the same criticism against the settlers, who, she said, concentrated on preaching to themselves. Smith insisted that she had as much concern for the indigenous peoples as she had for the black American settlers. However, she thought it best to begin her ministry among Christians, who happened to be mainly immigrants, because, she argued, "before the heathen are brought to Christ . . . they must see more real life and power, not only of and with God, but Power with men that must prevail." An equally likely reason for her working initially among settlers is that she knew no indigenous languages or anything about their cultures and it would take time to learn even Pidgin English, a coastal adaptation of English.

On some issues, the longer she stayed in Liberia the more Smith agreed with Mary Sharpe. Smith said the Christian settlers in Liberia should have done more to extend Western education to Africans, thereby aiding their conversion to Christianity. But Smith justified separation between settlers and indigenous peoples, pointing to cultural differences that, she said,

made their attending church together nearly impossible. She thought the settlers should establish separate churches and separate schools for the indigenous people.

In the beginning of her second year in Liberia Smith wrote:

> I was a little surprised that there were no native Churches, or schools of any kind in Monrovia for the natives, *but there is none* (her emphasis). Many children go to the Sabbath-school that know English, and they have a nice large school in the ME Church, but there are many of the natives that I think would be gathered in *if they had their own school* (emphasis added). Some may think because all the people are principally colored that these natives would feel at home, being colored too; but if you could imagine a Sabbath school assembled on Sunday afternoon at Broad and Arch Streets, and then imagine ten or fifteen *uncovered Indians come tumbling in* (emphasis added), very likely in some disorder, and then think of as many or more of *uncovered, wooly-headed black sisters and brothers of mine* (emphasis added) coming in and feeling at home here in a civilized Sabbath-school, I suppose it could be done, but it would not be an easy thing to do.[20]

Liberia had been settled in the 1820s by free blacks and ex-slaves from the United States under the sponsorship of the American Colonization Society, a group of influential whites, most of whom wanted to rid the United States of unwanted blacks. In 1847 when the Liberian colony acquired sovereign status as an independent republic, its rulers, all descendants of immigrants, limited citizenship to New World black settlers and those indigenous Africans who assimilated the form of Western culture that the immigrants transplanted from the United States and the Caribbean. Smith's initial concentration on the settlers was consistent with the opinions of Alexander Crummel, an AME minister who urged free blacks in the United States to immigrate to Liberia. He cautioned the settlers not to be

> harassed by the cry from Missionary societies in America, "go preach to the heathen in the interior," when our work is in *our own settlements, in our own families, among our own servants and laborers*; and when our indirect influence upon the interior tribes will be a great deal more powerful than a few feeble attempts at missionary work in the interior [emphasis added].[21]

In September 1882, Sharpe gave *Christian Standard* readers a dismal portrayal of missionary life in Liberia. After decrying the high prices for

imports and the low value of Liberian currency, she made these observations:

> The friends cannot conceive what it is to be separated by thousands of miles of ocean, from all civilized or Christian countries, surrounded by darkness that is truly felt in a country without a literature. The few missionaries that come . . . expect to fall at their posts soon or go home in broken health. . . . Twelve white missionaries have gone home, most of them in shattered health. . . . Now one white missionary alone remains, and that one a woman. Another white woman is holding her own at Bassa . . . and Rev. D. A. Day (Lutheran) . . . and wife. These are all the white missionaries left.[22]

Avoiding conflict with Sharpe, Smith left Monrovia to spend three weeks with Rev. Day and his wife at the Muhlenburg Mission, where Rev. Day had opened a coeducational school for seventy-five children. On the Days' large coffee farm, Smith continued recuperating from the malaria she had contracted in Monrovia. Afterward she began traveling to the Methodist missions, beginning at Clay Ashland on St. Paul River.[23] She suffered from periodic attacks of malaria, but refused to stop travelling. She visited schools and conducted services, but during most of 1883, illness and debilitation from fever forced her to move from place to place simply seeking comfort and rest. By her own account, she accomplished very little during her first year in Liberia. She held only three meetings the entire year.

Local opposition to holiness doctrine and temperance work also slowed her pace. Black Christian leaders, mainly Baptists and Methodists, had spearheaded the early settlements, and in 1876 a revival had swept Liberia, mainly in Monrovia and three of the country's five counties: Bassa, Sinoe, and Maryland County's Cape Palmas.[24] But holiness doctrine either had not been a central theme of the revival, or its impact had waned by the time Smith arrived, for she encountered ministers and congregations who opposed holiness and temperance. According to her account:

> The drinking customs among Church members are more like they are in England; no blame for drinking, only for getting drunk, and in many places not even that, so of course temperance work does not get much cheer in such an element.[25]

Imported liquor provided substantial income for many settlers who had failed at other economic pursuits. The sites they were given to settle by the American Colonization Society were low coastal lands, generally swampy and unsuited to the type of farming they had done in the United States. Most of the best farmland was located in the north and controlled by indigenous Africans who were often taken advantage of but were impossible to displace. Trade had become a primary occupation for immigrants, and alcoholic beverages were a favored item that they could sell or trade.

Before the end of 1883 Smith had founded a temperance society, the Band of Hope, in Sinoe County. The group petitioned the government to erect barriers against importing liquor. In May of 1883 the Band of Hope made news in the United States when the national AME Church newspaper published this account:

> The temperance society, Band of Hope, no. 3 of Monrovia, celebrated its anniversary. . . . The Band turned out something like one hundred and forty strong. It was a very interesting spectacle. The Band marched to the sound of drum and fife from the Presbyterian to the Methodist Episcopal Church, where among other exercises, addresses were delivered by Counsellor J. S. Payne and the Rev. D. Ware. . . .[26]

In spite of this promising start, by December 1883 Smith had lost the enthusiasm she brought to Africa. In a letter to a friend, a dejected Smith even longed for winter weather, wistfully yearning to see "a fine, old American winter, but I don't know when the Lord shall bid me depart from this place. I wait His bidding." Like Mary Sharpe, she blamed what she called Christianity's weak influence in Liberia on the lack of white missionaries. Smith believed that Africans needed white teachers, but lamented that most whites in Liberia were German and Dutch merchants, "all infidels and drunkards" who easily influenced the "ignorant" local people. She claimed that even the local ministers lacked intelligence, which is why very few people came to hear them preach. She vowed to remain because "not withstanding all this there are a few names that desire God only" and, ironically, she wrote in this same letter, "I am not a bit homesick. I feel God still hath need of me here, so I can wait."[27] Perhaps she was unaware of how clearly most of the letter said she wanted to come home.

Early in 1884 Smith suffered another severe malaria attack accompanied by continuous back pain. She had recently settled in the Greenville area of Sinoe County, where there were no Western educated medical

doctors. She liked the people but decried their "ignorance and superstition," which she attributed to there never having been a white missionary in the county. White missionaries had worked in the other two counties she had visited, and "the difference is so very prominent one cannot help comparing." The Greenville area was part of the original Mississippi settlement, established by thirty-seven illiterate ex-slaves from the state of Mississippi. Greenville had remained relatively isolated from other settlements.[28]

Complaints

Liquor consumption and neglect of the "poor natives" struck Smith as the area's worse faults. Christians drank and traded liquor with the indigenous people, "but that is about all they do for them," she claimed, echoing Sharpe's earlier sentiments. "Not one earthly thing is done in the way of Christianizing them from one end of the county to the other. I teach, preach, pray and cry to God to send some laborers," she wrote to friends at home. She decided to miss the annual conference at Cape Palmas to remain in Sinoe County because "there is so much to do here. I pity the people and want to help them all I can." [29]

Smith severely criticized African customs and labeled African peoples backward and uncivilized, views consistent with late-nineteenth-century Western ideas and accepted by prominent Pan-Africanist intellectuals and most other black Christian leaders. Edward Wilmot Blyden, writer, theorist, and advocate of black redemption, migrated from the Caribbean to Liberia in the late nineteenth century and urged others in the African diaspora to do the same. Like Smith, Blyden believed that African cultures must give way to what he thought were superior Western values. Blyden even declared that enslavement in the Americas had equipped New World Africans with the means to "lift" Africa from its "degradation" and that African-Americans should put Africa on equal footing with the rest of the world by bringing the values and skills they had learned in the Americas back to Africa.[30] Samuel Adjai Crowther, a recaptured slave from Nigeria, educated in Sierra Leone, and named the first African Anglican bishop, suggested that God may have allowed Africans to be enslaved by Europeans to expose them to Christianity. Two decades earlier, in 1862, Alexander Crummel had tried to persuade former household slaves from the United States to immigrate to Liberia because he thought them to be "qualified, by *long contact with intelligence and refinement* (emphasis added), to aid essentially in that 'wide diffusion of education' which the

Republic so much needs. . . ." Crummel envisioned a plan to establish schools for "the humblest of our citizens, namely, native servants and Congo recaptives" who would meet the demand for husbands for female colonists "just as fast as these new men are civilized [and] will intermarry among us."[31]

Immigrant women, who far outnumbered men, had helped establish churches by forming prayer and Bible study groups, and women supported the Sunday School, the main source of Western education. Many immigrant women lived outside settler communities as missionary teachers. They dedicated themselves to training indigenous children by exposing them to both Western education and Christianity, which they hoped would prepare them to take part in the country's economic development.[32] Similar ideas motivated Smith who was convinced that black people everywhere could achieve as much as whites had achieved if given the opportunity to do so through education. The temperance crusade added another dimension to her efforts and remained her priority because she believed alcohol consumption undermined all other missionary efforts, including education.

When temperance work did not progress as well as she had hoped in Sinoe County, she turned her attention back to Cape Palmas, where temperance work had been more successful and where the temperance band was preparing for "a grand turn out on the Fourth of July." Smith had helped Christians in Sinoe build a church and had been teaching and organizing in Arthington, just north of Monrovia. Hoewver, she longed to work in Cape Palmas, a goal that eluded her until the new Methodist bishop for Africa, William Taylor, arrived in Monrovia in late January 1885.[33]

Taylor began his missionary work in Africa in 1866 by preaching unsuccessfully to white settlers in South Africa. After this disappointing start, he turned his attention to the indigenous Africans in South Africa, attempting to learn their languages and customs. They responded enthusiastically, and his "phenominal success" among them vaulted him into the international evangelial spotlight. After preaching in India, the Carribbean, and South America, Taylor began advocating the idea that overseas missions should be self-supporting, producing their own food and otherwise economically sustaining themselves. In 1884 the Methodist General Conference elected Taylor missionary bishop of Africa. He returned to Africa, intending to establish a chain of these self-supporting mission stations throughout the three-thousand-mile West African coast from Liberia to Angola. Taylor wanted to begin in Liberia by making the

churches there self-supporting, but he regarded Liberia unsuitable as a base for evangelizing Africa. He believed that slavery in America had done so much damage to the leadership abilities of enslaved Africans that those free blacks and former slaves who had created the colony of Liberia, as well as black missionaries from the United States, were not as well equipped to evangelize Africa as the indigenous Africans. With Smith's help he made initial contacts in Liberia that paved the way for his later, more productive, visits.[34]

Well-placed in a comfortable home and happy with the climate, Taylor wrote friends in the United States:

> Sister Amanda Smith is with us, in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, as usual. God has yet much work for her to do in this land, and she will follow His orders. . . . Sister Mary Sharpe is doing a good work here in the Kroo tribe of natives. I have been preaching daily to them.[35]

Taylor attended services that Smith held at Sharpe's school in Krootown, where twenty to thirty seekers would come each night. The sessions sparked considerable fervor, as Taylor said, "Some of them shout all over the house and from house to house . . . all over town. . . . Sister Smith Smith is here at the front and as usual doing grand service."[36]

While in Liberia, Taylor baptized new converts, ordained deacons and pastors, conducted revivals, and visited mission sites. Smith accompanied him to Mt. Olive, the first indigenous church she had visited. Although Taylor's visit had boosted Methodist missionary work in Liberia, Smith remained pessimistic about her own effectiveness.

In a long letter written in 1885, Smith discussed the obstinate opposition there to temperance work and holiness doctrine and acknowledged that change would take time. She blamed settler resistance on the impact of slavery, which she said would take "ages instead of years to get us out of the ignorance and superstition and everything else that slavery taught us. There is no use of hurrying in Africa." Smith seemed sure that God had sent her to Africa and measured her progress against the odds. She concluded, "Though I seem to be doing so little compared with America or England I am satisfied, for I know God hath need of me here, at least for the present."[37]

Frustration

In June of 1885, after finally leaving Sinoe County, Smith waited in

Monrovia for a boat to Cape Palmas, but this was the rainy season when steamships bypassed the Cape Palmas area because of rough seas. She spent her time visiting the sick, reading the Bible, and praying. In July she adopted a six-year-old African girl who already spoke English. Smith began preparing her to become a missionary. Smith had begun to focus more attention on education. She asked friends in England and the United States to ship books for the schools.[38]

While making plans, Smith constantly battled discouragement, and most of the time she seemed to be losing. In August 1885, she confided her impatience to a friend. In a letter, not meant for public consumption but nevertheless published in the *Christian Standard*, she vented her frustrations, saying:

> I am still in Monrovia. Have been packed up and waiting to go to Cape Palmas for over eight weeks, but no steamer that has called at this port stopped at Cape Palmas, so I must wait. It is very tiresome for it throws one back so in the work. If I could get around here as I can at home or in England, or anywhere else under the sun, I should have been the rounds and ready to come home by this time, if the Lord led me. The people have been waiting for me to come there and I am anxious to go, and if I could get to these two places . . . I think, to decide about my homeward move. I am beginning to feel that the work the Lord sent me here to do is about done, so far as He would have me do it. I am only waiting and watching the signs of the times. *How hungry I am for a camp-meeting by the sea* . . . I do feel that I want to go home and I do pray that the Lord will soon make his will known to me in this direction. . . . *Our government* is in a fallen and helpless condition, and the people are indifferent to its claims, and others are discouraged, and self-interest is over all [emphasis added].[39]

At the end of August Smith abandoned her plan to visit Cape Palmas and decided to visit the neighboring county of Cape Mount instead. Acting against the advice of friends who warned of an impending tornado, on September 10 she took off in a Liberian coastal boat. About midnight a heavy storm carried away the boat's main sail and drove the boat back to Monrovia. She waited until October to set off again. This time, she went to Clay Ashland, about fourteen miles from Monrovia on St. Paul River, where the District Conference was scheduled. She tried to revive the idea of a camp meeting at Caldwell, where there had not been one in thirty years, and organized a Holiness Band meeting at Caldwell with the consent of the local Methodist pastor. She spent time in the settlements, helping the newly arrived immigrants from the United States, and she

visited the Baptist Association in Brewerville, where she reported:

> I heard some of the best preaching that I have heard in a long time. Many of these brethren, I am glad to say, are straight on the temperance question. Oh, if only all the leaders of the different denominations were straight on this question, we could soon save our little republic from the terrible blight that strong drink has made {emphasis added}.[40]

Adding to her woes, a simmering conflict with Mary Sharpe threatened to reach the boiling point when Sharpe wrote a letter to the *Christian Standard* accusing Liberia's black settlers of treating the country's "real Africans" far worse than they themselves had been treated as slaves. She openly derided Smith, accusing her of continuing to confine her work to the settlers, whom she said used their money to aggrandize themselves with fancy clothes and refused to evangelize among the indigenous people. Sharpe attacked the entire black Christian settler population as well as the Africans among whom she worked. In an unusually biting tone she claimed:

> Life to our heathen is one long holiday. The women are hard to reach being so full of fun and frolic, so apparently destitute of thought. The men will listen eagerly, will bow their heads in response and consent to all that is said, yet they are too apathetic to act and there is so little individuality, so little independent thinking or acting. This is a land of no literature without any modern improvements. Everything the same from century to century. My work is wholly among the purely African heathen. None of the missionaries have hitherto worked among these but have confined their efforts to the Americo Liberians. . . . Since November 1883, I have been doing my work as a teacher and evangelist . . . among the natives.[41]

The editor of the publication that published Sharpe's letter noted that "of Amanda Smith's work Miss Sharpe says it is confined wholly to the Americo Liberians and [that she] has done nothing yet toward breaking down their prejudices against the pure African heathen".[42]

Although Smith experienced frustration and near calamity in 1885, she claimed a few victories. In November she had conducted meetings in Virginia, a district in Liberia named for its counterpart in the United States. During one of the services she said her adopted Liberian daughter, Frances, "gave her heart to God, and was, I believe, soundly converted." Optimistically, she added, "I am willing to come home if the Lord says so and if not to stay, just as He wills." Two weeks before Christmas she

reported that for the first time in Liberia's history, Monrovia would host a temperance convention, which would be sponsored by the Band of Hope Gospel Temperance Society she had organized. She had been preaching more often, and her voice was hoarse from using it "day and night for four weeks in succession."[43] She had also begun to break through the cultural barrier between herself and most of the African population. On the last day of the Association meeting,

> A number of natives came and stood outside because there were no seats left in the church. After the services I said to the brethren, "Why not call those dear native people in and say a word?" They agreed. They took them into the church and had three short addresses, prayer, and singing. The writer was the last speaker. O, how my heart yearns for these poor souls! The Lord helped me to talk to them through a brother who is a Liberian, and a missionary among them.[44]

Smith shared an ambivalence about Liberia and Africa in general with other African-Americans. She identified with Liberia because of her loyality to her race; Liberia's black settlers had fled racial discrimination in the United States. But she recoiled from many of Africa's idigenous customs and decried the apparent stagnation of Liberia's settler society. Her acculturation in the Western world and her embrace of Christian values meant that she could never fully embrace Liberian society in spite of her racial sympathies with its inhabitants.

Success

At the end of January 1886, Bishop Taylor returned to Liberia for the annual meeting of the Methodist Conference held in early February. Smith had embraced his concept of self-supporting missions and agreed to help him build manual labor schools among the indigenous population to promote the principle of mission self-support. Through working with Taylor, by the end of February Smith had reached a three-year goal—visiting Cape Palmas. She had been trying to get transportation since June, but Taylor persuaded the captain of a steamer they had boarded for another destination to stop at Cape Palmas. Liberia's Maryland colony, where Cape Palmas was located, had been established as a temperance colony, and Protestant Episcopal missions had done extensive work among the dominant Grebo peoples.[45]

After Taylor left, Smith continued the afternoon meetings and Bible readings and preached in the crowded church at night. She praised Cape Palmas, calling it the prettiest place in Liberia and calling the people kind

and intelligent. She had changed her attitude about her work in Africa. Late in 1886, she wrote:

> If it should please the Lord I should spend my days in Africa, I shall be glad if He assigns me to Cape Palmas. I did hope for Monrovia, but I feel so at home here, though a stranger, that I shall be satisfied here if Father says so.[46]

While in Liberia, Taylor appointed William Turner, "a promising young man of color, who came from Atlanta two years ago, to the care of the mission" he established in an industrial school at Setta Kroo. Turner had been a self-supporting missionary living "among the heathen all the past year." Taylor wanted educated young Methodist "men and women of color" to be put in charge of Methodist missions in Liberia, but claimed that "unprejudiced people here say that white people will succeed better than colored. But I would like to put in the colored if we can get the right sort." Taylor was also more sympathetic to indigenous cultures than most missionaries, preferring that new Christian converts keep their native names "when saved and baptized."[47]

After working with Taylor in Cape Palmas, Smith sensed the imminent success of her mission in Africa. Others did also. In April 1886, Charles H. Gray, a Liberian, wrote the *Christian Standard* praising her work. The letter read in part:

> I am thankful to Almighty God for His blessing in sending to our little community Sister Amanda Smith February last, with Bishop W. Taylor. She has been steady at work for Jesus ever since her arrival. At Mt. Tubman's Church a revival has been carried on through her management, and it is the greatest ever known in the vicinity. There were 54 converts, and among them were old hardened sinners 50 to 70 years old. . . . She has moved the meeting to Labrobe [the city] to the Scott Church, and there the work has taken root at once, and is growing rapidly. The members generally are sanctified, and happy to say that already a number have been converted. . . . May God crown her efforts with abundant success, so that not one sinner be left here on the side of the Devil.[48]

For most of 1886 renewed enthusiasm permeated Smith's letters. In October, she went to rest in Lagos, Nigeria, rather than returning home as she had planned the year before. She had not seen her daughter, Mazie, for eight years. She missed her but felt a stronger commitment to help Bishop Taylor establish his missions in Liberia. She planned to use her extensive

contacts to help him "for my people's sake."

Smith went unintentionally to Lagos. She had planned a trip to Old Calabar but boarded the wrong ship and landed in Lagos instead. She stayed at the American Baptist Mission house and led the Tuesday night prayer meeting. Afterward, the pastor asked her to conduct a revival and she "went on speaking to crowds every night for three weeks." Then she started a revival at the Wesleyan Church, and reported, " [I] didn't rest until laid up with rheumatism in the right hip and knee." Bishop Crowther's daughter in Lagos offered her a place to recuperate.[49]

Smith and Taylor resumed their work when he arrived from Liverpool in January 1887. Mary Sharpe thought he had aged considerably and seemed in poor health since his first trip to Liberia, but he and Smith left the mission he had established in Cape Palmas.[50] In March he wrote friends that Smith, along with a few others, would accompany him on a three-day journey up the Cavalla River to visit three African rulers: "Tabotatika, King Harry, and to Garribo, King Talaty."[51]

On April 5, 1887, the group led by Taylor secured an agreement with local rulers in the Cavalla River region to build a school and mission at Garaway. Smith signed the agreement, indicating the vital role she played in securing the cooperation of local authorities, whose names appear with an X beside them. According to the contract, the local rulers promised to supply free land for mission school buildings, a farm and pasture, and free labor to clear the land, plant the first crop to feed the missionaries and boarding students, cut and carry the timber, build a cookhouse and schoolhouse or shed, and help the carpenters and sawyers build "a good American farm house" where the missionaries would live. Taylor pledged that the Methodist Church would provide teachers, school uniforms, implements, tools, and machinery at no charge. It appeared that the church, not the local people, would own and control the site.[52]

While Smith was helping Bishop Taylor secure this mission site, Mary Sharpe was intensifying her criticism. As she praised Taylor's work in Liberia, she leveled an open attack on "colored missionaries," claiming:

> Hitherto mine has been the only mission exclusively among the heathen. Those that the Bishop [Taylor] is establishing are among the heathen. Teaching and preaching among the Liberians is no more missionary work than to teach or preach in a village in the United States. . . . Within the jurisdiction of Liberia there are many thousands of heathen that have never had teachers, nor have they heard the Gospel, and they are easily accessible.[53]

Sharpe herself worked mainly in Monrovia's Krootown. Smith had confined her work to the settlers during her first years in Liberia, but she had embraced Taylor's plan to start self-supporting schools among the indigenous Africans and had since visited numerous villages, many of them accessible only by boat. In 1886, a year she called "the best year of victory I ever had," Smith was present at the opening of sixteen mission stations, all of them schools for Liberia's indigenous people. Then in 1887 she and Taylor had begun a new mission school, which was taken over by Lizzie McNeil, a young teacher recently arrived in Liberia who Smith helped get settled in Camp Palmas. She nursed McNeil through three bouts of malaria, as others had taken care of her when she had arrived.[54]

Poor Health

After spending two years in Cape Palmas, Smith left in late April or early May of 1888. McNeil lamented her return to Monrovia, but Smith had left her with a two-year lease on a "comfortable home" and secured "a Christian native man" to work the farm for her. Local people had planted cassava, sweet potatoes, coffee, and plantain trees, and provided a coffee nursery to supply cash to finance the mission.[55] Back in Monrovia, Smith endured repeated bouts with malaria, respiratory problems, and arthritis attacks. She anxiously awaited a chance to come home, waiting for funds to buy a ticket and trying to decide what to do with the two African children in her care. Besides Frances, the Bassa girl she had adopted in 1884, she had taken in a Kru boy named Baliboo, who was about three years old. According to her account, the boy's parents had begged her to take their child so that he could be well educated and "learn solid God." She had renamed him Bob, and he had been with her for only a few months when Smith left Cape Palmas.[56]

Indigenous African mothers who resisted Christian missionaries often did so because they feared the missionaries would teach their children to scorn and reject their culture or that their children would be despised by their kinsmen because they were different from others. Yet some, like the parents of the children Smith adopted, wanted their offspring to live with missionaries so they could become teachers or community leaders, thereby possibly receiving honor later in life if they had the ability to live and work in the settler society. Ironically, African Christian converts who were ridiculed and abused by their communities often won their respect later on and subsequently achieved leadership roles.[57]

Smith hoped to prepare both of her adopted children to be missionaries

in Liberia and tried to find families in Liberia who would take them in. Meanwhile, Edgar M. Levy, a friend in Ocean Grove, New Jersey, had persuaded the *Christian Standard's* new editor, E. I. D. Pepper, and Rev. Joshua Gill to establish a fund to cover Smith's return trip from Africa "to her home and friends in America."[58]

In May 1888, since she had not received money for her ticket home, Smith continued working, venturing into nearby countries, "faint, yet pursuing." In November, she left Monrovia enroute to Lagos and Old Calabar. On the way to Old Calabar, she stopped in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and held services day and night for three weeks at an AME Church. She abruptly ended the meetings when the boat arrived for Shingay Mission on Sherbro Island, southeast of Freetown and about seventy miles south of Fourah Bay. After eighteen hours of sailing, she reached Shingay, then traveled another three hours by boat to the outstation where she conducted services on Saturday afternoon and Sunday. She said, "It was a little embarrassing, as I had to speak through an interpreter, but the Lord helped me, and I had great liberty."[59]

At the end of 1889, Smith finally received the funds to come home. Levy raised enough money for her to stop in England to rest and regain her health at a sanitarium, then authorized her to withdraw money from a bank on his account to pay for her ticket.[60] Before she left Liberia, she had found a home there for her adopted daughter and had decided to take Bob with her. She had not accomplished all that she had hoped, but she had made an impact. Bishop Taylor credited her with whatever limited success temperance and holiness enjoyed in Liberia. Speaking in Philadelphia in 1888 he had said:

> She went there and throttled the thing—took the lion by his beard in his own den, and on the line of holiness and temperance brought about . . . wonderful change, illustrating what can be done in that line by intelligent, earnest missionary effort.[61]

Counting her "well advanced on the down-hill side of life," one *Standard* reader expected her to return home and spend her remaining years resting in "the evening of life among friends and home." [62]

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Chapter Five

"She Drew the People": 1889-1895

Weakened from malaria and recurring respiratory problems, hobbled by arthritis, and drained from constant travel, a haggard Amanda Smith arrived in Liverpool after eight years of "hardship, privation, and toil." Run-down and weary and with a child to support, she faced a cold, damp December in England. She expected to rest and recuperate that winter and return home in the summer; instead she spent the coming months preaching against "the liquor traffic" and searching for a boarding school for Bob. England's winter weather aggravated the painful swelling in her joints, but by August 1890 she was well enough to leave for the United States, where she arrived in early September. The day after she disembarked, she wrote, "It has pleased the Lord to bring me safe to the land of my birth."[1]

She lived temporarily with a friend on Union Street in Brooklyn and in early October rested briefly at Mountain Lake Park in Maryland before undertaking a short speaking tour to Boston; Putnam, Connecticut; Brooklyn; and Philadelphia. In Philadelphia, she shared the Thirteenth Street ME Church pulpit with *Christian Standard* Editor E. I. D. Pepper, and John Thompson, the *Standard*'s new publisher and president of the National Holiness Camp Meeting Association. Thompson assumed these positions after the death of John Inskip in 1884. The three evangelists conducted an "all-day meeting for the promotion of holiness," Smith taking charge of evening services.[2]

While in Philadelphia, she visited the Friday holiness meeting at Thompson's home. The Friday meetings convened in Newark and Philadelphia, while the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness, founded in 1838 by Sarah Lankford and Phoebe Palmer, continued to meet

in New York at the Palmer home. After Phoebe died, Sarah married her sister's widowed husband and the meetings continued unabated. In February 1891, at the Tuesday Meeting, Smith delivered a long, stirring testimony, her comments ranging from personal issues to temperance reform, which had gained political momentum in the Unted States while she had been abroad. Echoing the increasingly militant mood in temperance circles, Smith described how she had seen "sin . . . walking about, bold, and brazen, and hideous . . . ," adding:

> O, how I longed to be able to put down the awful evils of every kind, and especially the liquor traffic and its dreadful dens, which are doing more to debauch humanity and everlasting ruin men and destroy their souls than all other Satanic influences put together. . . . I have been lately in the Macauley Mission and the Florence Mission, in this city . . . I could not help saying, when I heard the same sad story told over and over, 'O, why not stop the machinery that makes these people so wretched.'

Expressing gratitude that she had been able to preach to her "black brethren and sisters in foreign lands," she added in an ironic note that liquor imports "sent from civilized nations" undermined the educational work done by missionaries in Africa.[3]

In January 1891, Smith joined Judith Ellen Foster, president of the Iowa WCTU, who led a delegation that testified before the House Committee on the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic. The Committee was considering federal legislation banning U.S. liquor sales in Africa. Smith told the committee about her background as a former slave and how she had gone to Africa, which she called a "beautiful country" that with a "little help could be made such a country as this nation would be proud of," except for the fact that "Christian nations of the earth are sending rum there all the time." Foreign ship captains trading along the coast "pay the crew boys in gin, . . . powder and guns," she reported, and in some parts of Africa she claimed liquor was used as currency. Smith linked temperance with mission work by charging that the liquor business undermined Christian missions because "the natives say it [alcohol] must be good because the people bring it who bring the Bible." She added, "There is not a black merchant there who imports strong drink. A black man who deals in it must get it from white merchants. I do not know of any black man who ships it there."[4]

Although Smith had made opposition to alcohol consumption a major theme of her public career and worked to promote prohibition, no record

was found of her publicly discussing the alcohol problem in her own family. Victorian sensibilities, common to the social class Smith identified with, may explain why she kept private the tragedy behind her younger brother's drowning while she was in Africa.

An Alcoholic Brother

Samuel Grafton Berry was one of Smith's three brothers who fought in the Civil War. He quit his job as a canal boatman to join the Union army when the federal government finally agreed to accept black volunteers. In January 1864, he left Pennsylvania, along with thousands of other black men, to join the army in New York, one of only two states then forming "colored" regiments. As a private assigned to the Twenty-sixth U.S. Colored Volunteer Infantry, Company J, he waited on Rikers Island with his regiment while the army command debated whether to use black soldiers in the southern battlefront.[5]

Exposure to a cold, snowy winter on Riker's Island left Samuel Berry's joints gnarled with arthritis. He went to fight in South Carolina, but before the war ended was sent to an army hospital in Beaufort, South Carolina, to be treated for arthritis. At age twenty-three, the army discharged him on disability—his legs were paralyzed. He returned home to Towanda, Pennsylvania, married Eliza Cooper, daughter of a local Methodist preacher, and attempted to work as a laborer, digging wells and cellars; but chronic pain from crippled joints prevented him from working.

As Berry went deeper into debt and his family approached destitution, he applied for a pension increase from the army. In March 1885, at age forty-four, he was said to be suffering from paralysis in his left eye, shoulder, side, hip, and ankle and his memory was said to have failed. In April 1885, the federal examiner who investigated Berry's claim reported that his "general reputation is about as bad as possible."

Six months after the examiner made his report, the Towanda, Pennsylvania, newspaper added its colorful description of Smith's brother the day that he died:

> He was considerably under the influence of liquor. . . . He was one of the characters of the town, ready in speech, and with a readiness to "indulge" that brought him, strong sailor as he was, to shipwreck and death. His quaint, noisy, and often disagreeable ways gave him a decided personality that will not be soon forgotten.[6]

According to the newspaper account, the river was "high and swift" the

day Samuel bet someone in town $100 that he could navigate across it. As the swift current tossed his boat about, he stood up, fell backward into the raging river, was swept downstream, and drowned. Five years later, in 1890, his widow received an award of $8 a month from the government, and his child, Minnie Berry, $2 per month.[7]

In her autobiography, Smith simply wrote that her brother had drowned but she never hinted of his drinking problems, financial distress, or bouts with arthritis, which seemed to have been a hereditary problem. Her father had complained about severe arthritis, and her older brother, William Tolbert Berry, also suffered from "rheumatism, disease of the eyes, and of the spine."

More Tragedy

William Berry had lived in Lower Chanceford Township on the Manifold Farm in York County, Pennsylvania, before he enlisted in the Union army in 1864. As a corporal, he fought in Florida at Gunboat Point, then returned home to live with his wife, Martha, in Lower Chanceford. In 1876 they moved to York, Pennsylvania, where William worked as a hod carrier, toting loads of mortar. By 1887, his four children had been born and three years later, he applied to the government for disability benefits, claiming his weak knees, giddiness, kidney trouble, and arthritis had been caused by conditions suffered during the war, especially the sand in Florida, for he said, "I had good eyesight before service, and my parents had good eyesight."

In 1890 when the army approved his pension payments, he was fifty-nine and already confined to his house because of poor health. William Tolbert Berry, in contrast to his younger brother, was a respected member of the community. His children had been baptized at Bethel AME Zion Church in York. He died in November 1891.[8] Smith may have attended his funeral, for she had a break in her travels in the fall of 1891, but she did not mention it in her autobiography.

She spent February 1892 on a temperance campaign in the South, where she spoke first to a racially mixed audience at Ames ME Church in New Orleans. After conducting a revival, she stopped in Winsted, Louisiana, then left for Pacific Grove in Monterey County, California. A full week of travel aggravated a cold, and the hoarseness she suffered in Louisiana worsened; nevertheless, as soon as she arrived in Pacific Grove, she joined the preaching at an ongoing revival at the Methodist Episcopal Church.[9] After two weeks, she left to preach in San Jose, then traveled to

San Francisco. There she conducted three services, including a Sunday at Bethel AME Church, where she spoke both morning and night before addressing Sunday School at First Methodist Church and preaching both Saturday and Sunday at yet another church. She planned to rest a month in Pasadena, but stopped in Oakland on the way.[10]

Her health improved in the drier Western air, and she wrote, "I can walk without the fatigue and languor I have felt for so long. My appetite is what it has not been for years." Although she continued to complain of fatigue, she went on without resting. In Oakland, she turned down an invitation to spend a month at the family country home of Carrie Judd Montgomery, in Cassandra, about a five-hour train ride from Oakland.[11] Montgomery was a faith healer, teacher, and social worker who published the monthly journal, *Triumphs of Faith.* Montgomery had moved to Oakland in 1890, married wealthy businessman, George S. Montgomery, and organized the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) Church.[12]

Smith admitted she had "planned to have the month of March to myself, but I have been cut right out of it." When she finally arrived in South Pasadena the first week in April, "a severe bilious attack" forced her to rest. Without her knowledge, she had been scheduled to preach at various places, and the expectant crowds were let down. When she was told that she had disappointed so many people, she responded with a mild showing of the fiery temperament she occasionally displayed when nearly exhausted. She wrote the *Christian Standard*, defending herself with, "Everybody is disappointed but me and the Lord. . . . If you don't know about your announcement, you can't help it, can you?" She closed with a line from one of her favorite hymns, "All I want is a little more faith in Jesus." After recovering her health in June she completed her speaking engagements in California where, according to one account, she kept congregations "shouting happy."[13]

Since she had returned from Africa and Europe, Smith had become much more widely known and was in much greater demand. Many wanted to hear about her experiences abroad, and she was playing a larger role in the temperance movement. Instead of being confined mainly to the churches and camp meetings in the East and Midwest, she had begun preaching in parts of the South and throughout the West. Although she had branched out to new territory, she was always drawn back to the old camp meetings in the northeast, and the closer she came to places where she had first gained recognition, the happier she seemed.

She left Los Angeles in mid-June and, when she arrived in Minneapolis, said she was "glad to set my foot on the old camp ground again."[14]

From Minneapolis she went to another camp meeting in Cincinnati. Smith appeared to be at her best in the camp meeting environment, where the open air and verdant woods hearkened back to her childhood in the beautiful Maryland countryside. The freedom and mingling of people from all walks of life broke down barriers of race and gender that she frequently encountered in the outside world. At camp meetings she experienced an uncommon fellowship across racial lines and the liberty to express herself.

Mountain Lake

Smith's style and appeal began to crystallize in July at the Mountain Lake Park Camp Meeting in Maryland. The stirringly vivid accounts she had been giving since she experienced sanctification at Inskip's church had become the center of her life's story and a standard part of her testimony. On the first Sunday morning of the camp meeting, she narrated the details of her conversion and how she had yearned for something more, searching for the way to be sanctified. A rapt congregation listened intently. Although Smith interpreted sanctification as an instantaneous acquiring of heart purity, she never claimed to have reached perfection, for when she had spoken the previous Friday night, when camp meeting opened, she said she had come to rid herself of selfishness and "to die to self."[15]

When Smith led a morning service, thousands came to hear her preach. An observer described the scene and her impact:

> The pressure for seats in and around and near the pulpit was almost crushing. Seats had been reserved for the colored people, working in the hotels, and living in the vicinity, who gladly hurried up their work to get in time to occupy them. Until after ten o'clock this gifted and holy woman of God poured out her bright brain and loving heart on that audience, that swayed and cried, shouted and sung, eagerly listened, and enthusiastically responded to her gra-ciously natural eloquence. The crowd lingered to the late closing. It was impossible to make room for an altar service. . . . In the opening service, Smith sang. . . . The charm of the tune, that voice of Smith's, that no one can describe, the accompanying motions of body and eyes and hands, the precious memories of the auld-lang-syne brought back by the words and the melody, the united prayer and praise that blended with hers like the voice of many waters-were almost too much for the pent-up enthusiasm of that throng of saints. . . ."[16]

Another congregant wrote, "If God ever called any one to preach, he has called her." The writer described her "unstudied oratory" as she

explained the fourteenth chapter of John more clearly than anyone he had heard and added, "As she herself says, she 'just talks.' She is Smith in the pulpit, just as she is Smith out of the pulpit." She used illustrations easily understood by her audiences, which helped them relate scripture to everyday experience. One evening she used banking terminology to explain salvation, and the following day a new convert testified:

> I received the Lord by faith and last night, when Sister Smith opened the truth about God's promises to us, I just took one of those checks and presented it to the cashier, and bless the Lord, he cashed it on sight, and I am rejoicing in the Lord.[17]

Smith had moved to the forefront of the Mountain Lake camp meeting and remained there until it ended. During the final Sunday morning Love Feast, after Thompson gave the Bible reading, Smith delivered the main sermon of the day. After opening with a hymn, she preached a message that revealed her sense of having emerged as a leader in the Holiness Movement. She related her new position as one of the Advance Guard for the camp meeting to the scripture Thompson had read, saying:

> The Bible reading this morning has turned my thoughts to the seventh chapter of Revelation, where we read about God's "sealed" ones. It is not safe work for the children of the world to touch these sealed ones. I am glad I belong to the company of whom God takes such special care. . . . God saves people so that they will stay saved. When you get "sealed" it takes the nonsense out of you. Glory! How careful God is to protect his sealed ones. . . . It is a dangerous thing to touch them for harm. Oh! I am awfully glad that God thus cares for Smith, because he has his "seal" upon her. . . . This "seal" is for every one of God's children who will meet the conditions. . . . Temptations will come, even to the sealed ones, but you are not to backslide over that. We are under the especial protection of the divine almighty One when once we are sealed. . . . I am wonderfully saved this morning. Glory to Jesus!"[18]

After Mountain Lake Smith went to Chicago for the dedication of Willard Hall in the newly completed Temple Office building erected by the WCTU to house its headquarters and temperance publishing association. The WCTU planned to rent the rest of the space. Smith's was the "first voice raised in prayer and praise within the walls of Willard Hall," according to the official WCTU account. Later in August Smith spoke at the Women's Foreign Missionary Society meeting at the annual state

campground in Red Rock, Minnesota, where she focused on temperance and supported the prohibition of alcohol exports to Africa. Two weeks later Smith was in Maine, where she led devotional services and spoke to a WCTU audience of over a thousand, including clergymen and other White Ribbon, or pioneer, members.[19]

In December she attended the first world and eighteenth national convention of the WCTU held at Faneuil Hall in Boston. When called to the platform, Smith sang what a WCTU reporter described as "a weird plantation melody, full of the hope and heart-break of slavery days. . . . After the first verse the organist caught the strain and accompanied her. The effect was utterly indescribable." After she sang, a WCTU official told the assembly of her impact on temperance in Liberia, where she had "preached purity to her own people as one of them."[20] The following summer, Smith drew thousands to hear her speak at camp meetings. In June she attended a controversial national camp meeting in Ogden, Utah, which shut down temporarily for the celebration of Brigham Young's birthday. She remained a week or two after the meeting closed to continue preaching.[21] In August at the Des Plaines, Illinois, camp meeting she was the "chief attraction." The meetings she conducted at four o'clock in the afternoon were said to have been the best attended of the day services. One enthusiast wrote:

> She tired herself without tiring those who listened. . . . Mrs. Smith cannot be described or reported without a Kodak and a phonograph. She did not always stick to her text, but what is of more importance, she always stuck to her audiences. She drew the people, and held them fast. She preached entire sanctification in such a way that folks fell in love with the doctrine. She told of heights beyond, and made wilderness pilgrims hungry for Canaan. She did not drive, she led; she did not threaten, but lifted up Jesus, and drew the multitude where it caught fresh glimpses of His face. Her joy was infectious; to her salvation is victory. Her presence in the audience meant an amen corner for the whole tent. It was worth much to hear her say: 'Yes, yes," "Blessed Jesus," "Wonderful!" "Hallelujah!" "Bless the Lord!" "Glory to His name!" "That's so."[22]

By now well known at camp meetings all over the country, Smith had led uncountable numbers to Christian conversion and persuaded even more to seek holiness. Her status had risen appreciably in holiness and temperance leadership circles. At its national convention in Denver in the fall of 1892, the WCTU appointed her one of its national evangelists. Smith told the WCTU secretary she could not accept the title "national

evangelist" because she could not devote enough time to speak regularly for the cause, but would do so whenever possible. Smith had been living in Newark with Mary Denman, president of the New Jersey WCTU, who had given her space to write her autobiography. Smith had accepted an offer from a "good Christian publisher," and wanted to finish the manuscript.[23]

Time for Writing

In October Smith went to Canada for the first time, visting Hamilton, Ontario. She then left for Chicago, where Pastor J. M. Caldwell of South Park Avenue Church had invited her to conduct a ten-day revival. Afterward she remained in Chicago to preach at Western Avenue ME Church.[24] She reported having many calls to preach "all over the West, and California, and the land over," but said she had declined many of them because she wanted to spend most of her time writing her autobiography.[25] Before the end of 1892 she had moved to Chicago and rented a house at 2940 South Park Avenue, where she settled into a comfortable routine of doing housework and writing during the day and preaching at local churches at night.

On New Year's Eve Smith began a revival at eight-hundred-member Western Avenue ME Church which she described as a "good working church," with a holiness meeting every Monday night. The revival lasted two weeks and she reported:

> I saw several old-fashioned conversions. It did me good to see something after the old style. Then some got the cleansing baptism. Others who had lost the assurance of their sanctification were restored. Others got victory over their timidity in prayer and testimony.[26]

Smith worked during the day, dictating her book to a stenographer, and each night walked three miles to church. She would get home about 11:00 p.m. and get up at five or six. "Though some nights it was fearfully cold, yet the Lord took care of me, and I never took a bit of cold all the two weeks," Smith reported in a letter to the *Standard* that continued:

> Oh! It is wonderful. I am just wild with delight and gladness. I think I understand a little of what the Psalmist meant when he said "Delight thyself in the Lord, and He will give thee the desire of thy heart." Psalm 37:4. Surely the Lord hath dealt bountifully with me.[27]

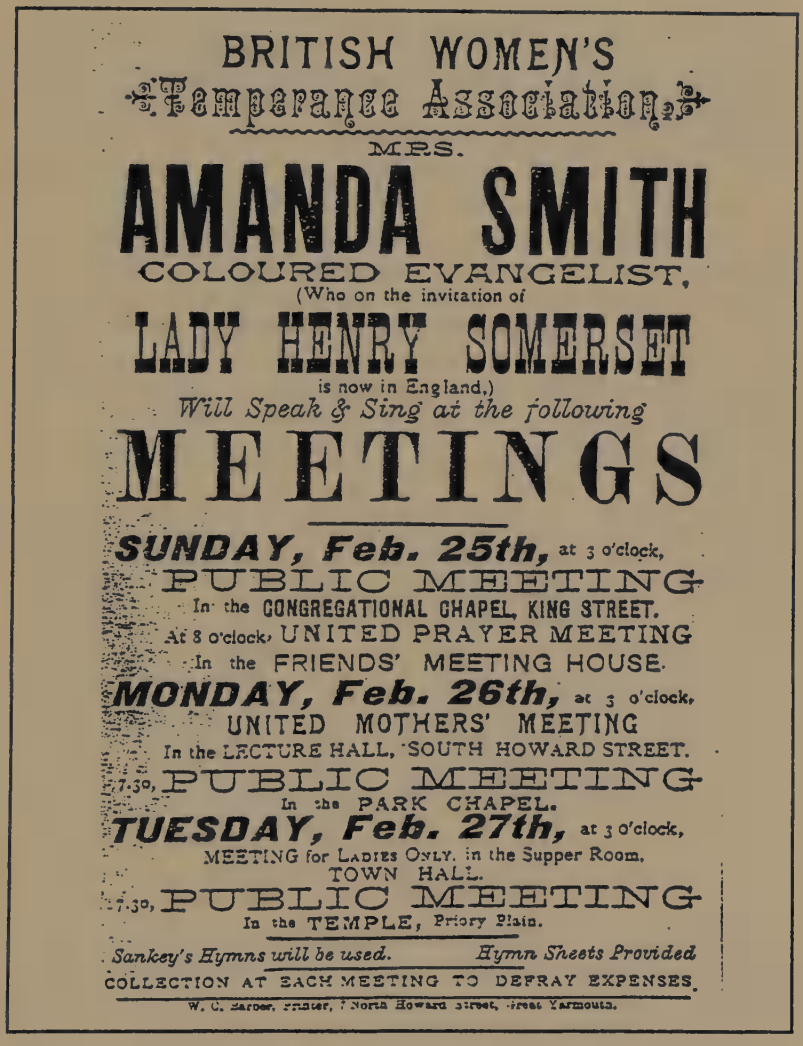
The WCTU again offered to appoint her a national evangelist, and this time she apparently accepted.[28] With her book about to be published, invitations to preach pouring in, and positions of national prominence being bestowed upon her, 1893 may have been one of the most visibly successful years of her ministry. By April 7 Smith had finished her manuscript, and it was being published. Reflecting on the writing, she called it the "biggest job I ever undertook, but Oh, it is wonderful how the Lord has helped me."

Easter Sunday Smith preached at Summerfield ME Church in Milwaukee, where she said, "We closed this service with a big collection of five hundred dollars and went home with joyful hearts." Smith did not say how much of the collection the church gave to her. Afterward she visited an orphanage called the Home of the Friendless, which housed two hundred boys and girls. She noticed "several very nice looking colored girls." Smith spoke and sang for the children, who asked her to come back again, and in the evening visited another mission. Smith's popularity had increased to the point that she was having photos taken to sell for twenty-five cents. She had so many invitations she had turned most of them down so that she could "be free this summer to go as the Lord may open the way and lead me, and in that way I may go to half a dozen, if that is His will."[29]

As usual Smith spent most of the summer in camp meetings, and in late September, after the Ocean Grove meeting, she went to Toronto to preach at Agnes Street ME Church. She had met the pastor at the Des Plaines National Holiness Camp Meeting, and he had arranged a camp meeting in Toronto under a large tent in the middle of the city. She said the pastor asked her to "hold the fort at his church, Agnes Street, in the evening . . . while he stood by to see the closing up of the camp meeting. . . . The church was filled."

After the camp meeting closed, Smith led a prayer meeting at McCall Street ME Church, then conducted Sunday morning service there because its pastor was out of town. At night she spoke at Agnes Street Church again. From Toronto she planned to travel through Hamilton and St. Thomas, then to Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Cincinnati, before returning to Chicago to plan a tour of the West.[30]

Before Smith left for the West, she received an invitation from Lady Henry (Isabella) Somerset, the wealthy, philanthropic president of the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA), to conduct a speaking tour in England. Somerset had become a close friend and political ally of Frances Willard. Willard spent nearly four years, from 1892 to 1896, living on Somerset's estate, where she enjoyed for the first time a


BRITISH WOMEN'S
Temperance Association.
MRS.
AMANDA SMITH
COLOURED EVANGELIST,
(Who on the invitation of
LADY HENRY SOMERSET
is now in England,)
Will Speak & Sing at the following
MEETINGS
SUNDAY, Feb. 25th, at 3 o'clock,
PUBLIC MEETING
In the CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL, KING STREET.
At 8 o'clock, UNITED PRAYER MEETING
In the FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE.
MONDAY, Feb. 26th, at 3 o'clock,
UNITED MOTHERS' MEETING
In the LECTURE HALL, SOUTH HOWARD STREET.
7.30, PUBLIC MEETING
In the PARK CHAPEL.
TUESDAY, Feb. 27th, at 3 o'clock,
MEETING for Ladies Only, in the Supper Room,
TOWN HALL.
7.30, PUBLIC MEETING
In the TEMPLE, Priory Plain.
Sankey's Hymns will be used. Hymn Sheets Provided
COLLECTION AT EACH MEETING TO DEFRAY EXPENSES.
W. C. Harper, printer, 7 North Howard street, Great Yarmouth.

TEMPERANCE FLYER. Announcements such as this one advertised Smith's speaking tour sponsored by the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA). Smith was invited to England by BWTA president Lady Henry Somerset. (From the collections of O. C. Niessen, Waterloo, Ontario.)

secretarial pool and luxurious living quarters. Lady Somerset was one of Britain's wealthiest women. She owned a castle and manor in Hertfordshire, a vast area of slum property in East London, and other property in three European countries. In 1893 her financial contribution to the temperance cause equaled the total dues paid by the entire membership of the WCTU in the United States.[31]

In 1893 Somerset and Willard had forged a coalition among women's temperance groups by creating the World's WCTU, with Willard as president and Somerset as vice president. The World's WCTU primarily included former and present territories under British imperial domain. Somerset remained head of the BWTA and Willard remained leader of the North American WCTU. This controversial union led to friction within both the BWTA and WCTU.[32] Somerset invited Smith to speak to divert attention from infighting among the women reformers and to boost the temperance movement in Britain.

While visiting the United States in 1892, Somerset had been attracted to African-American cultural expression and had heard Smith speak. While stopping in New York on her way to a private reception at the White House with U.S. President Harrison and his wife, Somerset had attended a black church and enjoyed the worship style. She wrote a friend in London, "You would love the coloured people, they are delightful . . . they nodded their dear wooly heads, and shouted their hymns and were so nice." Somerset had heard Smith in New York and thought her "perfectly marvelous in her exquisitely picturesque language and her real refinement." As a result, she thought Smith would "attract really educated people" to the temperance cause in London.[33]

Smith left for England on November 22, 1893, sailing from New York to Liverpool. The British temperance leaders expected her to keep a demanding schedule, but even before she met Willard and Somerset, Smith stopped in Southport to visit her adopted Liberian son, Bob, whom she had left in private school there on her way back to the United States. British friends had paid nearly all his expenses. After she spent a few days with Bob, she went to Ireland to visit Mrs. M. (Thomas) Davis, who had channeled funds to her in Africa. In Ireland she spoke at the YWCA and the Friends' Mission then returned to Liverpool to spend Christmas with Bob.

When Smith finally met Willard and Somerset at the latter's home in Garden Square, the three planned her evangelistic tour. Inspired by their time together, Smith wrote, "I want to do the best work of my poor life," but a severe arthritis attack temporarily thwarted her plans.[34] In February

1894, soon after she began the tour, Smith canceled the speaking engagements scheduled for the rest of the month.[35] Alarmed and angry when Smith postponed the tour, BWTA secretary Mary Gorham asked Willard to persuade Smith to continue or to help find a substitute. Worried about disappointing the BWTA branches, Gorham lamented that because of Smith's color it would be difficult to fool the awaiting crowds with a replacement. In a sarcastic tone, she wrote:

> Unfortunately no ordinary substitute will at all do. I only wish I could do the whole of the work myself and would willingly *black my hands and face for the purpose* if only I could thereby persuade them I was a colored woman and stop this friction [emphasis added].[36]

The next day Gorham wrote Willard again, this time charging that Smith should have given notice sooner that she would not be able to keep her appointments, "before we went to all the trouble and difficulty of making these engagements."[37] Available records do not indicate whether Willard replied to the complaint or mentioned it to Smith, but even when she began her tour, controversy continued to follow. A WCTU member from the United States complained to Willard that Smith had made negative comments about the WCTU and asked Willard for permission to censure her remarks. The member wrote:

> Do you know that Amanda Smith is talking rather unwisely to say the least, and it seems to me that something should be done to stop it. Most ungenerous for her to talk about the association when Lady Henry (Isabella Somerset) has so kindly paid her way over. Besides they tell me she had not the best manners in the world, and says things not the ones for polite society. Can you tell me where she is—because I would like to write her for as one of her country women [I] do not want her to do as she is doing.[38]

Not only had she angered some in temperance circles, Smith also became embroiled in a debate about racism in the United States. When forced to get medical treatment, she wrote John Thompson that she was glad to be in Britain since she could not have received the same level of treatment in the United States because of her race. She commented: "As I know I could not have such an opening anywhere in America, I said, Lord help me, this is my chance, and since I have been here and had the rest and treatment, I have felt benefitted already."[39] When the *Christian Standard* published Smith's letter to Thompson, a Chicago doctor sent an angry reply to her in England, claiming that she could receive the same

kind of treatment in the United States, since he treated black along with white patients in the hospital. Defending her accusation, Smith refused to retract the charge. She maintained that, although she had used the word *hospital* in her letter, she was referring to sanitariums, facilities that provided the specialized treatment she was receiving in England in a "Hydropathic Establishment."

"I know that colored people are taken to hospitals in America in all parts," she answered in a letter to Thompson. "As far as I know I have never been in one in England or America. . . . I was not speaking of hospitals, but referring entirely to sanitariums."[40] Smith refused to soften her outspoken opposition to racial discrimination in the United States, which was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court two years later in *Plessey v. Ferguson.*

Other critics accused Smith of lacking faith because she was ill and seeking help in a hospital rather than relying solely on prayer. She answered them, saying:

> I find it no use denying the fact, we are growing older everyday, and we cannot keep up with the twenty-year-old ladies and gentlemen: only in spirit, some of us are ahead in that scale; if we think our old friend rheumatism has forgotten us, we have only to sit or kneel down for a little while, and go to get up and we will find he is there in full regalia, and it is not because there is a defect in our faith as some would say.[41]

In an open letter Thompson noted how "some stubbornly dictate to God how He shall heal them, and they say they must be healed by faith or that they will not be healed at all, and the Lord lets them die in their stubbornness. . . ." Others, he said, rely totally on medicine, find "the skill of physicians unavailing," and turn to God for "the gift of healing."[42]

Hectic Pace

After a short stay at the sanitarium, Smith began "a whirl of hard work." In May she attended the Wellington Holiness Conference, taking part in two meetings before leaving for another conference in Manchester. Back in London she spoke on a Sunday morning at the great Congress Hall of the Salvation Army, at the Congregationalist Church in Claxton in the afternoon, and in the evening returned to Congress Hall, a "stupendous place" that seated four thousand. In an atmosphere she compared to camp meeting, she said she addressed a capacity audience.[43] At Willard and

Somerset's request, Smith preached for the May meetings of the WCTU. Adding to the success of her visit, she reported a steady income from her newly published autobiography.[44]

During the summer Smith kept a grueling pace. In August she went to the Keswick Conference, the annual gathering of holiness advocates that she had not attended in thirteen years. After Keswick she went to Carlisle and then to Newry, Ireland, where she had planned a week's rest, but instead conducted meetings every night but two. She stopped in a string of small towns before preaching in Dublin. She spoke at Wesley Chapel in Cork and went on to Belfast, which she said, "beat all" for the devotion of its altar workers and the congregation's fervent singing.

Smith returned to Liverpool for five days to speak at Gordon Hall, then went to Bath for the International Police Conference. Afterwards she was in Gloucester, Birmingham, and Bristol. She stopped in Southport for a short visit with Bob. She received more invitations to preach than she could fill in another year, and she had prospered financially as well.[45]

Continuing to speak for temperance, Smith shared the podium with Lucy Thurman and Hallie Q. Brown at the World Conference of the WCTU in Queen's Hall, London. The *Union Signal* called them "three colored women who do credit to their race" and who were "heartily received by the great audience."[46]

While in Scotland, Smith decided to change her focus from evangelism to institution building by establishing an orphan home. Smith returned to the United States, and in October the *Union Signal* announced her plan to establish an "Industrial Home for colored orphan children." The *Union Signal* explained: "Her great heart is stirred to its depths by the needs of her people and she believes that if the children are trained to be intelligent workers many of the phases of the Negro problem will be solved."[47] Smith decided to locate the industrial home in the Chicago area. According to John T. Jennifer, the pastor of Quinn Chapel AME Church, where Smith now belonged, she had told him that "the Lord has said to me, 'You have been laboring so long among others, what have you done for your own people?'" As a result, Smith said, she decided to open an orphan home "for the poor and friendless colored children of Chicago," a project she undertook "without any means except her great faith in God and reliance upon herself."[48]

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26. Amanda Smith, letter, Chicago, 20 January 1893, *Christian Standard*, 2 February 1893, 12.

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CHRISTIAN STANDARD

AN INTERNATIONAL HOLINESS JOURNAL

Volume 32. PHILADELPHIA, MAY 9, 1896. Number 19.

MRS. AMANDA SMITH.

(See Page 11.)

CHRISTIAN STANDARD CO., LTD.
921 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

HOLINESS JOURNAL. Amanda Smith appeared on the front cover of the May 9, 1896, edition of the *Christian Standard* to promote upcoming summer camp meetings. At this point in her career Smith was an internationally recognized holiness leader. (Reproduced with permission of the Drew University Library.)

Chapter Six

"A Fresh Anointing": 1895-1899

Instead of impeding her work as an evangelist, fund-raising energized Smith and widened her support. The *Christian Standard* vigorously promoted her book and her new project. More than ever the holiness newspaper extolled her abilities. Advertising for her autobiography, one of its writers called her "one of our very best evangelists—forcible, eloquent, electric, lucid, logical, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, world-wide in her evangelism, influential and successful among white and black."

Her singing ability, pulpit versatility, and forceful but modest demeanor had won her popularity among pastors and other evangelists. A *Standard* writer called her "one of the 'sweet singers of Israel'" whose "marvelously melodious voice has thrilled many an audience into intense enthusiasm." Although she excelled in singing, leading prayer, testifying, exhorting, preaching, and managing meetings, the writer continued, she did so with "modesty and bravery," being "dignified, but never presumptuous . . . congenial, inspiring, and useful."[1] Her ability to get along with a broad spectrum of church leaders opened new opportunities to speak and appeal for help, and the fact that her plans were in keeping with popular opinion and current thinking among social reformers helped to boost Smith's success as well.

Since its founding in 1880, the Woman's Home Missionary Society (WHMS) of the Methodist Episcopal Church had operated orphan homes on the industrial school model. Four such institutions included Thayer Home at Clark University in Atlanta; Elizabeth Rust Industrial Home in Holy Springs, Mississippi; Adeline Smith Home, later Philander Smith College, of Little Rock, Arkansas; and the New Jersey Industrial Home in Morrisontown,Tennessee. Thayer Home taught black women housekeep-

ing skills, and Rust Home taught sewing, millinery skills, beekeeping, fruit growing, and gardening.[2]

Before Smith launched her efforts, the WCTU had already established institutions to aid destitute women and orphaned children; and other black women in the WCTU had organized orphan homes and industrial schools. In 1877 the Frances Ellen Watkins Harper branch of the WCTU opened an orphan home in St. Louis, Missouri. Harper was a leading black abolitionist, writer, women's rights advocate, and temperance activist. The Harper Home, an "emphatically religious institution," drew children from the poorhouse and House of Refuge. Managed by a board of fifteen WCTU members, it depended on private donations and housed an average of thirty to forty children from ages two through twelve. By 1895 the Harper Home had clothed, fed, and educated 110 children and placed twelve with families. Other black women, in all denominations, taught in church-sponsored schools; and black people, in general, expected the church to promote education. Black church women in the Chicago area were already operating industrial homes and schools when Smith began planning hers.[3]

To begin the work, on December 7, 1895, Smith purchased two lots and a building at 147th Street between Jefferson and Desplaines in the Academy section of Harvey, Illinois. Joseph Darwood of Dryden, Michigan, sold Smith the property for about $1500, $2500 less than its listed value. Smith planned to convert the two-story store that sat on the corner lot into a dormitory. The Bank of Harvey loaned her the money to buy the land and building at 6 percent interest, which she agreed to repay in installments: $250 in six months, $250 in one year, $500 in two years, and the final $500 in three years.[4]

Back East

Smith started fund-raising in the East, traveling by train to Philadelphia and from there to Wilmington, Delaware, where she preached two nights at an AME Church. She reported, "The white friends came in," and both races "kneeled together and prayed together, we were blessed together."[5] After preaching in the Germantown section of Philadelphia, she went to York, Pennsylvania, where she had lived as a young woman. For five days she held meetings at York's First ME Church, the first church she had joined. Two days before Christmas she returned home to Chicago to rest, but as soon as she arrived and heard that AME Bishop John Wayman had died, she left for Baltimore to attend his funeral. While in Baltimore, she

met John Jennifer, then pastor of Metropolitan AME Church in Washington, who invited her to conduct a two-week revival. At Metropolitan, as in Wilmington, she reported that "white and colored kneeled at the altar together, and asked for the baptism of the Spirit, and while they all were praying and believing it would come. . . ."[6] Whites in the D.C. area invited her to speak at the Central Mission Hall, a notable occasion given the racial segregation that prevailed in Washington, D.C., at the end of the century.

Smith went on to New York City, where she made a special appeal to the AME churches and collected a small donation. In a plaintive tone she asked AME members and readers of the *Christian Standard* to send her one dollar as a New Year's present to "help some colored orphan."[7]

Mid-Western Tour

At the end of March Smith spoke in St. Paul, Minnesota; in April she led a revival in Lexington, Kentucky., and from there returned to St. Paul, Minnesota, where the *Christian Standard* reported, "The city had never been so stirred *among her people* as now. The church has had nothing in its history to equal it." In May she preached to a packed Fowler ME Church in Minneapolis before attending the ME General Conference where by "a motion of a colored delegate . . . [she] was introduced and invited to sing."[8]

In June she went to her first camp meeting of the summer, going to Webster, Iowa, where she said about five thousand attended the first Sunday. She stayed for seven days; the young people pledged to make twenty yards of rag carpet for the Home and she received $100 in donations. Smith left disappointed at the meager contribution, and went east to Prohibition Park, New York, for a Pentecostal meeting. Her next stop was the Mountain Lake Park Camp Meeting, where, according to eyewitness accounts, she reached a higher peak of power and effectiveness.[9]

Nestled in the Allegheny Mountains of Western Maryland, Mountain Lake Park had become a Christian resort, with a road extending around the thirty-five-acre, trout-filled lake and a Crystal Spring nearby.[10] The egalitarian atmosphere at Mountain Lake apparently exceeded that of other camp meeting sites, for E. E. Williams, a preacher and reporter for the *Christian Standard*, noted what he called its uncommonly welcome atmosphere for women leaders. None had ever complained of discrimination there, Williams claimed, adding:

> One of the peculiarities of the place is the steady recognition of the fact that "in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female." "Let the brethren and the sisters of the ministry come to the platform," is the form of invitation given at almost every service by the leader. I once heard Brother Smith explain this invitation by saying, "Men may make pastors, but God makes his own ministers and is just as likely to make one out of a woman as a man. . . ." Mrs. J. F. Willing, Mrs. Margaret Bottome, Mrs. Inskip, Mrs. Huldah Rees, Mrs. Amanda Smith, the writer, and also Misses Clara Boyd, Lizzie Boyd, Iva Durham, Lizzie Sharp, and many other elect ladies, have addressed the multitudes from the pulpit there, having as large liberty accorded them, and as perfect courtesy shown them, as given to any of the magnates of the ecclesiastical world. . . . For ten years I have stood side by side with the leaders of the meeting, and never once has the rule of the equality of the sexes in Christ Jesus been set aside or varied from.[11]

Smith was one of the main attractions that summer. She and thirteen others lived at the Thompson Cottage, owned by National Holiness Camp Meeting President John Thompson.[12] Whenever she appeared, vast throngs came out to hear her. Her ability to meld African-American worship styles passed on from the slaves and rural poor with the exuberance characteristic of frontier Methodism found full expression at Mountain Lake as she assisted or conducted some part of nearly every major service. At the Sunday morning service, the 9:30 a.m. "love feast," she read Psalm 100, then explained it, Williams said, "in her own peculiar way." She began her message with, "We are here to make a noise." Although she had once complained that black people often made too much noise in church, this morning she urged the congregants to express themselves, aiming perhaps at a median between what she considered excessive noise among some blacks and the tendency to suppress expression among most whites. "Some people object to our making a joyful noise unto the Lord," she continued, "and tell us to keep still. I always tell such people that this is the quietest world we will ever get into. The word of the Lord is full of exhortations to praise him."

After urging them, she began praising God herself, then told them that when they began testifying, not to wait for others to stop speaking, but to "crowd your way in." With such a large gathering, testimony was done in small groups, with the speakers talking as loudly as they could so as to be heard above the others. She ended her portion of the morning service with a short testimony and a song:

> He is living in me—a real, tremendous, living, conquering,

> comforting, saving Christ. When I think of the privilege I have of being here, and telling you his goodness and mercy, my heart almost breaks with gratitude. I want to shout hallelujah because I am saved and kept by the power of God.[13]

After she sang *My Life Flows on in Endless Song*, the other testimonies began.

That same day Smith opened the crowded 3 p.m. service with the song, *Bending at the Cross*. Again "the congregation shouted and praised the Lord." Preaching about "life *after* sanctification" based on Romans 12:1, she used illustrations from her own life. Afterwards, worshipers crammed the altar. One woman, reported to be a convicted counterfeiter recently pardoned by President Grover Cleveland, was "most marvelously converted and sprang to her feet shouting the praises of God."[14]

During another testimony service, Smith exhibited the ability to combine her African heritage of praise and worship with traditional Methodist enthusiasm. After she sang a verse of a popular hymn, a reported noted, "As usual, when Sister Smith sings, the people waved their handkerchiefs, shouted and clapped their hands, and some moments passed before order was restored and testimony resumed."[15]

At the closing service on July 13, Smith sang, *The Lord Does Provide*, then delivered a brief address before finishing with the chorus of *Hallelujah! 'Tis Done*. She left the crowd with, "If you never see me again, remember that is my standing testimony."[16]

After the triumphal meeting at Mountain Lake Park, Smith left for another camp meeting, this one at Des Plaines, Illinois, where, for a week, she conducted two meetings a day, one at 6 a.m. and the other at 4 p.m. Her next stop was Clear Lake, Iowa, where she quipped, "A colored sister evangelist in these parts is not common, so I had things my own way pretty much. Praise the Lord, anyhow!"[17]

Driven by the need to raise money, Smith kept a strenuous pace of camp meetings and revivals the rest of the summer and into the fall of 1896. She traveled though Iowa by train and buggy, speaking at Clear Lake, Mason City, Charles City, and Manchester. Having arrived, being late and near exhaustion, she would have liked to cancel the meeting at Manchester. Because the train was late, she had missed her connection and had to take a horse and buggy to Manchester. Perhaps hoping the congregation would have left because of the heat and her delay, a surprised Smith arrived to find a crowded church awaiting her in stifling heat. "We had a time of blessing," Smith reported, and after she spoke, many came up to shake her hand, pressing money in her palm for the

orphan home. She left with $100 and pledges from others to send donations later.

From Manchester she traveled to a camp meeting at Delhi, Iowa, stopping on the way in Fayette, "a fine college town," where she held meetings at the First ME Church. She stopped in Animosa on a Monday before returning to Chicago the next day. Incredibly, she left that same night for an Ocean Grove camp meeting in New Jersey! Instead of resting after the camp meeting as she had planned, she accepted an invitation to preach at McDougal Street Baptist Church in New York City, where she spoke twice a day for a full week before conducting a Sunday service in Brewster, New York. She rested finally rested for two days, then left for Pittsburgh. There she preached at Westside ME and Fulton Street ME Church, "where we had crowded houses, salvation altar services and good collections. Thursday night 30 dollars, Friday night 18 dollars. This was the Lord's doings and marvelous," she reported. McKeesport, Pennsylvania, where she held 6 a.m. services on Saturday and Sunday, reminded her of old times. She recalled: "It takes Pennsylvania to rise and move when the time comes. I was born of the Spirit in Pennsylvania, and I know right well what it means to have old time religion. . . . O what a meeting it was!"[18]

People sat in the aisles and on steps, and more stood in the street. Some drove eighteen miles from Pittsburgh and could not get in. Smith was pleased with the fund-raising effort as well, saying they took in "splendid collections. No begging. This was a red-letter day for McKeesport. The people say there never was anything like it." One supporter donated $50, the largest single donation she had thus far received. When she returned home to Chicago she found over $250 had been mailed to her from Pittsburgh.

After leaving McKeesport, she returned to Pittsburgh and spoke Monday night at Wylie Avenue AME Church and Tuesday night at Western Avenue ME Church. Although she badly needed rest, she conducted services on Wednesday and Friday nights at Liberty Street Mission and continued speaking at other churches into the following week. She also attended the Methodist Women's Foreign Mission Society Convention of Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh's Arch Street ME Church. Just before leaving by train for Washington, Pennsylvania, she hurried to the WCTU convention, where she sang what was said to be Frances Willard's favorite hymn, *There is a Wideness in God's Mercy.*

While the WCTU met in Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh Annual Conference of the AME Church was meeting in Washington, Pennsylvania. Smith left

the WCTU gathering for the first AME Conference she had attended in twenty years. She described it as "a rich treat . . . a delightful time. Bishop Lee and all the brethren treated me with the greatest courtesy and the Conference gave me ten dollars towards my orphan home work." Smith returned home to Chicago, "thoroughly tired out," but she had reached her first financial goal, paying $1,150 toward the mortgage. Accumulating small donations, she hoped to raise another $1,500 by May.[19]

After recovering from a cold, Smith headed for Philadelphia to lead a week-long revival at Seventh Street ME Church. The pastor, John R. Westwood, reported that the meetings drew impressive numbers and that

> the people were delighted with Sister Smith and thronged the church at every night service. On Sabbath, Nov. 15, an overflow was a necessity in the evening, and by actual count 1,451 persons were in the audience and lecture room.
>
> Holiness was the constant theme. . . . The spirit of the woman was made use of by the Lord to win many to her views. There was no sight of censoriousness. It was rather a spirit recognizing much good and anxious only to lead them to greater heights and to kindle a longing for that purity they clearly saw in the Gospel held out as their privilege. . .[20]

Smith continued preaching in Wilmington, Delaware, then opened the new year with a revival in Baltimore. She then went to Washington, D.C., where she spoke at old Wesley Chapel before leaving for Wheeling, West Virginia. In February she spent a week in New York City, preaching at Seventh Street and Seventeenth Street ME Churches, the Harlem YMCA, and McCaulley Mission before moving on to Newark, New Jersey, and back to Washington, D.C.[21] In March she spoke at Central Union Mission and attended the holiness meeting conducted at Wesley Chapel before returning to Metropolitan AME Church, where twenty-one years before she had helped organize one of the first holiness meetings in Washington, D.C. [The meetings were initially held at Metropolitan AME Church but had since moved to Wesley Chapel.] She spoke at Asbury Church's midweek meeting and on Sunday afternoon at the annual missionary meeting of the colored Presbyterians in Georgetown.

Although Smith spent an active month in the Washington area, she did not raise as much money as she had expected and decided to return to Chicago for the remaining months of spring. She decided to remain in Chicago until June and hoped to have $1,500 raised by May, but prospects seemed poor because many charities were competing among themselves for funds.[22]

In the summer of 1897, she decided to forgo her usual camp meeting

circuit and she spent time at new locations. She aimed to raise $1,000 and asked English supporters for the remaining $500 she owed on the land. Tired but unwilling to rest, she asked *Standard* readers to pray for her, for she needed "a fresh anointing."[23] She attended her first camp meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, in early June. She preached at eight more camp meetings that summer, all in places she had never been, including Allentown and Greenville, Pennsylvania, and Lancaster, Mt. Union, and Hollow Rock, Ohio.[24] She left Hollow Rock early to take part in a camp meeting in Finlay, Ohio, sponsored by the Western Ohio Holiness Association. On the way she stopped in Mt. Pleasant for a Quaker meeting, where she spent nearly three days and spoke three times. This meeting reflected changes taking place among some in the Society of Friends, for she noted:

> It did not seem like the Friends' meeting of forty years ago, for they sang, prayed, and said "amen,"' and preached like the people called Methodist. And I declare you could not have told they were what is known as Friends. Wonderful change![25]

The Findlay camp meeting, held from August 26 to September 5, seems to have been the best one she took part in that summer. An observer wrote that "her messages from God and her thrilling victorious songs were very helpful." Smith wrote, "I was glad to see such a good representation of my people in attendance all the time." The sponsors had carefully organized and planned the meeting, which drew large numbers of pastors and lay leaders from nearby towns and villages.

New Trends

Holiness leaders were becoming increasingly concerned because of the "side issues" being introduced at their meetings. The focus of holiness doctrine being justification and sanctification, some, including Smith, considered other matters secondary, if not distracting. She referred to two of these issues in 1897, "divine healing and the Lord's coming." New voices among holiness advocates were insisting that these two points be preached and taught, but Smith wanted meetings run on the "plain, old fashioned lines, as we used to do in dear Brother Inskip's time." She was particularly alarmed because altar workers were urging seekers to pray for healing while not always asking if they were converted. As the century ended, the holiness movement would become even more diverse and

Smith more distressed as new leaders introduced additional aspects of faith besides the orthodox teaching she considered the only essential message of the Gospel.

In early September, as she prepared to leave for Denver, Smith had raised $850, $150 short of her $1,000 goal.[26] She planned to spend September 10 through 20 in the Denver, area but remained until the end of October and stayed on in the West through winter. In new territory, she was an immense success. She sold five dozen books, raised more than enough money to meet her $1,000 goal, and after the meeting received numerous invitations to speak elsewhere. Remaining in the Denver area, she conducted a week-long revival at St. James ME Church, and preached for two services at Trinity ME Church, reportedly "the largest and finest church in the state, seating 1,500 to 1,800." She estimated that it was "filled to capacity at each service," and local observers seemed to verify her figures.[27]

A local newspaper account of her appearance at Trinity Church substantiated her claim about attendance. She had been originally scheduled to speak at the local YMCA but, the reporter noted, its assembly room could not hold the large crowds she attracted. Trinity ME Church trustees had allowed their main sanctuary to be used, and it could barely hold the people. She had drawn "as large a congregation as ever crammed the edifice."[28] The reporter attributed her mass appeal to her sense of humor and "homely originality," but during the message at Trinity, Smith revealed a little-known aspect of her social concerns as she connected the temperance cause to the plight of impoverished Pennsylvania coal miners and their families. Referring to an incident in which sheriff's deputies had killed protesting miners, she suggested that if the lawmen had "gotten down on their knees and had a season of prayer, that catastrophe would have been avoided."

With the country suffering from economic depression, mines had closed and the families of unemployed miners were starving, yet, she said, "saloons were open on every corner, and free beer, free cheese and free everything was given the men, but nothing for the suffering widows and children. Oh, where were your Wesleyans and Salvationists?" she asked, referring to Methodists and members of the Salvation Army. Holiness includes more than personal piety, she warned, adding that God's people should "get out and help matters a little." She then turned to the twelfth chapter of Romans, one of her favorite passages of scripture, urging her listeners to "seek the Lord" instead of merely wishing and trusting.[29]

PULPIT STYLE. An unknown artist captured Smith's pulpit style for Denver's *Rocky Mountain News,* which featured a full report on her appearance at Trinity ME Church. The captions read, from left, "No more of this snip-snap backbone Christianity," "We are inclined to resort to everything else but prayer," and "What we need is genuine Christ love." (*Rocky Mountain News*, 27 September 1897, p. 2, col. 3.)

During her stay in Denver she also spoke at Shorter AME Chapel, the state's largest African-American church, and three other Methodist churches in the city. Delighting in the Western mountains and dry air, Smith enjoyed a rare season free from sickness. After leaving Denver, she preached in Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Leadville, and Cripple Creek, Colorado. By winter 1897 she had raised $2,800, just $2,200 short of the $5,000 total needed to open the Home.[30] In Pueblo she conducted a week's meeting at Broadway ME Church, spoke at the YMCA, and spent a Sunday and Watch Night on New Year's Eve at the AME Church in Cripple Creek. After meeting all of these engagements, Smith began 1898 with a ten-day revival.

In mid-January, 1898, Smith left Colorado for Oregon. Stopping in Portland, where she had no engagements or anywhere to stay, she met an AME pastor, Rev. Freeman, who invited her to his home. She noticed in the newspaper that two evangelists she knew from Chicago were holding a revival in Portland. In a letter, Smith described how, when one of the two men spotted her in the audience, he invited her to the stage and introduced her to the congregation, who then rushed to the platform to meet her. In previous years she avoided giving herself such open praise and rarely drew attention to her own fame or to people's response to her. Now at the height of her popularity, the tone of her letters often seemed self-congratulatory and self-promoting. Smith also began to regularly reminisce and bemoan the changes that had come with the passing of time, telling nostalgic stories about meeting old friends and acquaintances from bygone days at Ocean Grove or Mountain Lake Park. Temperance leader Frances Willard died February 17, while Smith traveled in the West; Smith sent condolences to WCTU headquarters, but probably continued her travels during the funeral.[31]

As one who enjoyed travel, Smith laced her letters with vivid descriptions of the new places she was visiting, extolling the magnificence of the Western mountains and wondrous sites in Portland and Seattle. While in Portland, she sang and spoke at a revival at Centenary ME Church, sold fifteen books, and raised $26. She then preached in Seattle, Albany, and Salem, Washington. She reportedly raised the considerable sum of $550 in Oregon and Washington. While in Seattle, she took part in a series of meetings at the AME Church about "issues of concern to Aframericans," including living conditions of blacks in the South and emigration to Africa or the Caribbean.[32]

In California, she led services at First ME Church in Alameda, where she sang for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society Meeting and led the

Tuesday night holiness meeting. Smith preached at Bethel AME in San Francisco and spent the next day and evening at Palo Alto visiting Bishop William Taylor, her mission companion from her years in Liberia. Taylor had grown so feeble that she felt this might be their last meeting.

Instead of resting, as she had hoped, Smith spoke on Sunday morning at the First ME church in Pacific Grove and left that same night for Chicago, with plans to go on to Willsborough, Pennsylvania. She finally took time to rest for a few days at Ocean Grove, New Jersey. In August she attended her first summer camp meeting at Summit Grove, Pennsylvania, near the place she had grown up in Shrewsbury, which she had not visited in forty-five years. She renewed childhood friendships and met the former children whom she had nursed during her years as a domestic worker.[33]

In early September Smith had moved three doors from her former home in Chicago. By mid-September she had raised nearly enough money to open the orphan home and she projected May 1, 1899, as opening day.[34] The October first issue of the *Christian Standard* carried a photograph of the building Smith had bought in Harvey and announced that after she raised the $1,500 needed to open the orphanage, she planned to start raising an endowment fund.

In late October Smith attended two AME Conferences, one at Lima, Ohio, and another at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. Bishop B. F. Lee invited her to appeal to the conference for support. They donated $40. Looking ahead, Smith wanted to strengthen her ties with AME ministers, hoping that they would help her locate orphan children because "the minister can reach homes and families that I could not possibly know, and can help me in this."[35]

In November 1898, Smith left Chicago for Providence, Rhode Island, where she spent two weeks at Peoples ME Church before attending the annual Holiness Conference in Boston. Afterward she conducted a two-week revival in Putnam, Connecticut, then spoke in Fall River. There she was stricken with throat trouble, a chronic complaint, and rested at a doctor's home in Jamaica Plain, a suburb of Boston. As her self-imposed deadline to open the orphanage approached, Smith declined invitations to continue preaching in New England.[36] Instead of going directly home from Jamaica Plain, she stopped in Buffalo, New York, and held meetings at the city's Deaconess Home and the WCTU Mission. In Buffalo's cold, damp climate her throat trouble recurred.

After being treated by a doctor, she left to preach in East Liverpool, Ohio, where she again brought black and white Christians together on

equal footing. Since members of both races eagerly attended services, she tried to equalize her arrangements by splitting her time between AME and ME churches, having meetings in the ME Church in the afternoons and at the AME Church at night. The AME pastor in East Liverpool hoped this arrangement would give black worshipers a better chance to hear her, but as Smith explained:

> In that he was disappointed, for as a rule there were more whites at night than there were colored, and they seemed to feel thoroughly at home among their colored brethren, they were at home at prayer, in singing, around the altar and in consecration. They all felt that they were of one father, even God the Lord.[37]

Smith left East Liverpool so hoarse from a severe cold and strain on her vocal chords that she could not preach at her next destination, Xenia, Ohio. After recovering, she left for Steubenville, Ohio, where she preached for a week. From Ohio she went to Pittsburgh, to preach at First ME Church and Avery Chapel, a church built by people of color. Conducting the holiness meeting held regularly at Avery Chapel on Sunday nights, Smith reported that the church was crowded and she spoke "with uncommon liberty." During the Sunday afternoon holiness meeting she said, "A cyclone broke on us and swept everything before it."[38]

Still braving harsh winter weather, Smith left Pittsburgh for Albany, New York, holding meetings at the YMCA and Trinity ME Church where she raised $150, more than she had ever been given thus far in four meetings. Another $100 had been promised for May, when she planned to open the home. Now hedging on her deadline, she suggested that the opening might be postponed until June, depending on the weather. In early March she spent three days at home, then left for Indianapolis to preach for a Sunday service at the First ME Church. In Indianapolis, as in other places, she shared her time with an AME Church.[39]

Overtures

Smith had cautiously begun coming to terms with her long absence from activity in the AME Church. While achieving worldwide acclaim and bridging divisions between black and white Christians, she had become relatively isolated from black churches. Although her public ministry began among AME churches, as her popularity increased she had spoken at them far less frequently and ministered to African-Americans only

sporadically at camp meetings. During four years of fund-raising to open the home, she had begun writing more letters to the AME *Christian Recorder*. Whenever she wrote a report for the *Standard,* she composed a similar one of equal length for the *Recorder*. She established a contact person in Philadelphia to accept donations from AME Church members, similar to the contact she had made for the mainly white readers of the *Christian Standard*.

Smith apologized for not spending more time at AME churches and explained in a letter to the *Recorder* that she had planned to preach more often at "our churches," but had previous invitations to ME churches. To satisfy both groups, she divided her time between the two, but even then her popularity with whites led to their getting more of her time and attention.[40]

While in Indianapolis in March of 1899, Smith divided her time between First ME Church and Bethel AME Church. Although only one announcement appeared the day before in the local newspaper, on the Sunday she preached at Bethel the building could not hold the congregation. Whites came early in the morning and occupied the best seats before the black worshipers arrived. That night white and black competed for limited space.

Noting her uncommon popularity, D. A. Graham, Bethel's pastor, wrote the *Christian Recorder* that no previous preacher, male or female, who had spoken at Bethel "produced any remarkable sensation and none of them drew the white people to hear them." He attributed Smith's popularity to "her life of holy consecration and full sanctification" and continued to explain:

> She knows distinctly the day of her birth into the kingdom and then of her full sanctification. Her life since that second blessing has been one of faithful following "where he leads." A plain, uneducated woman . . . her disciples are more among the cultured whites than even among her own people. . . . Sister Smith is not a licensed preacher, she is not "Rev." Amanda Smith, as many of our dear sisters want to style themselves. And yet it is doubtful whether there is another woman in the country, white or colored, more in demand for preaching than she. . . .[41]

Between 1895 and 1899, when she toured the country raising money for the orphanage and school, Smith was more popular as an evangelist than at any other time in her career. Yet the early months of 1899 seemed time for a change because her final spring engagement, ten days in De Kalb, Illinois, failed to draw large crowds or to spark a revival. Smith left

DeKalb determined to stay in Chicago until she had opened the Home. By March 10, 1899, she had paid off the mortgage on the first lots and building she had bought.[42] On April 22, she triumphantly announced that she had raised $5,000 to remodel the building before opening. She would begin her work with the orphans free of debt.[43]

Smith had spent four years tapping her extensive, multiracial network of evangelical Christians and temperance reformers, extending herself beyond the church and camp meeting circuit into women's clubs and other civic groups to launch this ambitious project. Although she failed to meet her self-imposed May 1 deadline, by May 6 she had moved from Chicago to live at 305 147th Street, the address of what would become the Amanda Smith Home in Harvey, Illinois.[44]

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9. Amanda Smith, letter, Chicago, October 20, 1896, *Christian Standard*, 7 November 1896, 16. E. E. Williams, "Pentecostal Services at Mountain Lake Park," *Christian Standard,* 28 November 1896, 11.
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22. Amanda Smith, letter, Washington, D.C., 29 March 1897, *Christian Standard*, 17 April 1897, 12. Amanda Smith, letter, *Christian Standard*, 1 May 1897, 18.

23. Amanda Smith, letter, Chicago, 25 May 1897, *Christian Standard*, 5 June 1897, 15.

24. "Appointments of Evangelists," *Christian Standard*, 3 July 1897.

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26. Millie Lawhead, "Findlay, Ohio," *Christian Standard*, 18 September 1897, 15. Amanda Smith, letter, Denver, 21 October 1897, *Christian Standard*, 20 November 1897, 6.

27. Amanda Smith, letter, Denver, 21 October 1897, *Christian Standard*, 20 November 1897, 6.

28. "Homely Originality, Secret of Amanda Smith, the Colored Evangelist's Success," *Rocky Mountain Daily News*, 27 September 1897, 1.

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33. Amanda Smith, letter, Alameda, Calif., 4 May 1898, *Christian Standard* 28 May 1898, 15. Amanda Smith, letter, Chicago, *Christian Standard*, 17 September 1898, 18.

34. Amanda Smith, letter, Chicago, 15 September 1898, *Christian Standard*, 1 October 1898, 18.

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The Amanda Smith Industrial Orphan Home

147th STREET, HARVEY, ILL.

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ORPHAN HOME. Children posed with members of the Smith Industrial Home staff in front of the first building Smith bought for the institution, a converted store at the corner of 147th and Desplaines, which housed staff and children until additional structures were added. (From the Collections of the Library of Congress.)

Chapter Seven

"Self-Reliant, Self-Helpful": 1899-1918

On June 28, 1899, a Protestant Episcopal priest, a black minister from New Orleans, and an AME elder who presided over the ceremonies joined Smith to officially open the Amanda Smith Orphanage and Industrial Home for Abandoned and Destitute Colored Children.[1] Located in an undeveloped business district in North Harvey, Smith, her staff, and the orphaned children at the Home were the only black residents in the area. Their nearest neighbors were the fire station at the corner of 146th and Union Streets, about two blocks away, and a few private family dwellings on Desplaines Street. In the next five years Smith would buy sixteen lots and build another cottage, ultimately owning the entire city block.

Her goals were "to rescue destitute, needy children, especially those of colored parentage," provide them with "care, education and industrial training," and find them suitable, permanent homes.[2] Child welfare agencies and juvenile courts referred children, but government provided no financial support. The children initially attended the local school; but when, for unexplained reasons, they were barred from doing so, Smith employed a teacher. Smith herself conducted most of their religious training.

The kind of industrial education she emphasized focused on manual labor skills and consistent work habits. She wanted to train children to do "useful" work such as cooking, cleaning, and gardening, and she emphasized character building. In her view, "an idle life of dependence on others is disgraceful" and neither manual skills nor literary ability were as important as Christian ethics. Although the school housed both boys and girls, she specifically aimed her writing on the subject of education at male children. She advised:

> Above all things teach *the boy* that truth is more than riches, power or possessions. . . . The highest end of education is not learning but character. . . . The noblest product of culture is a good citizen. . . . A man had better not know how to read and be true in action rather than to be learned in all sciences and in all languages.[3]

Smith believed male children should learn "purity in thought, language, and life, unselfishness, generosity, nobility and manliness . . . a genuine reverence for the aged and for things sacred." Consistent with current ideas about self-help, Smith wanted her charges to become "self-reliant and self-helpful even from childhood" and "self-supporting at the earliest possible age." The children grew their own vegetables, and she helped them raise chickens and pigs. Believing that "all honest work is honorable," she taught them how to be good domestic servants and janitors. Some secured household work when they left the home. One Smith school graduate worked as a janitor in a Harvey Bank until the early 1960s.[4]

To operate the home and pay for the additional land and buildings she bought, Smith relied on donations from her speaking tours, proceeds from the sale of her autobiography, profits from the newsletter *The Helper* that she edited and published from the home, and other donations raised by supporters and friends. She mostly did her own fund-raising, with sporadic help from churches. In October 1899 the Mercy and Help Department of the Harvey First ME Church sponsored a benefit during which "six little colored orphans entertained with songs and scripture recitations." Afterwards she hauled a wagonload of food back to the home.[5]

Like others of its kind, the Smith Home attempted to protect children from exploitation. In the early twentieth century, vulnerable orphans often lived with families who forced them to work under slavelike conditions. Smith tried to shield the children she placed from such abuse by personally visiting the families that adopted children from her home.

Along with running the orphan home and school and editing and publishing its newsletter, *The Helper*, Smith remained an active evangelist and temperance crusader. These activities helped raise money for the home, but also seemed to energize and rekindle her enthusiasm for life. She spent the first six months of 1900 preaching for revivals, including one at the First ME Church in Kempton, Illinois; at Forty-seventh Street ME Church in Chicago; at an AME Church in Evanston, Illinois; First ME Church in Nevada, Iowa; WCTU headquarters in Chicago; First ME Church in South Chicago; and Trinity ME Church in Cincinnati. During

the same six-month period, Smith attended the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Chicago and the General Conference of the AME Church in Columbus, Ohio, led revivals at two local ME churches in Harvey, and in April, went to St. Louis to organize for the WCTU.

A Staggering Load

Although the Smith home had a staff, in a letter to *The Standard* she complained of carrying "the whole responsibility . . . in every detail," adding, "I almost stagger under the great load." Her assistants, Eliza Jones, John H. Hampshire, and F. M. Waterfield, were all black. Jones was a fifty-two-year-old native of Kentucky. Hampshire, thirty-three, was from the Caribbean; and Waterfield, twenty-eight, was from Iowa. Smith consistently criticized her black staff members while praising the whites who helped her.

After indirectly criticizing her staff, Smith publicly complained that AME churches were not giving her enough support. According to her account, the General Conference of the AME Church in Columbus had warmly welcomed her and responded well to an evangelistic service she led. But when one of the bishops asked for a $100 donation toward the home, they only gave her about $25. She tersely commented, "they did not do their best; but we are thankful for this."[6]

In 1900, the home housed eleven children, ages five to twelve, six born in Mississippi, three in Illinois, and two in Wisconsin. Five of the six children from Mississippi were siblings, as were the four from Illinois and two from Wisconsin. Only one child was unrelated to any of the others.[7] Although Smith implied that the children's welfare depended on her giving them most of her attention, in August she left to lead a revival at the First ME Church in Seattle, Washington.

The editor of the local black newspaper, *The Republican,* called Smith "one of the most successful evangelists in this or any other country" and published a two-column drawing of her to highlight the announcement of the revival. *The Republican* also noted that this was her second trip to Seattle, referring to a previous visit in February 1898. She shared her time between black and white Methodist congregations in Seattle, her visits being one of the few times the two groups cooperated.[8]

Smith's fund-raising efforts again paid off, for on November 28, 1900, she purchased three lots at $600 a piece from Harvey resident John H. DeVoe and his wife, Emma. She secured a loan from the Bank of Harvey

at 6 percent interest, promising to pay it back in five yearly payments of $500 each, bringing the final price for the three lots to $2,500. On February 5, 1901, she bought another adjacent lot from Joseph Buckley and his wife, Mary. After making a $175 cash down payment, she borrowed the rest at 5 percent interest for two years, agreeing to pay $63 after one year and $62 after two.[9]

To pay for the additional land as well as to satisfy her own need to remain active as a preacher, Smith continued traveling and remained a part of holiness circles, attending the General Holiness Assembly in Chicago between May 3 and May 13.[10] Although she continued to travel, she gradually began spending more time at the orphanage.

Tragic Accident

Tragedy struck in June, 1901, when Smith and four of the children were on their way home from shopping and the horse bolted, overturning their carriage. None of the children was badly hurt, but Smith, now sixty-four, broke her collarbone and shoulder blade and went into severe shock. Bedridden for weeks, "very lame and very sore," she had to depend on others to run the home, but did not have to worry about paying medical expenses since a doctor and nurse took care of her free of charge.[11]

With nineteen children now living at the home, Smith desperately needed help. Rev. Ernest Lee Thompson, pastor of the ME Church in Harvey promised to spend three months raising money, and other Methodist pastors promised to make appeals for help. Their efforts apparently paid off, for on October 31, 1902, Smith completed mortgage payments on the three lots she had bought from the DeVoes, closing this debt in two years instead of five and saving considerably on interest payments.[12]

Apparently recovered from the buggy accident, Smith held a three-year anniversary celebration on June 28, 1902, by holding a tent revival on the additional land she had bought adjacent to the orphan home. The main speaker was AME Bishop Abraham Grant.[13]

A year later, in June 1903, when the home celebrated its fourth anniversary, it had taken care of sixty-five children and could accommodate thirty-one.[14] As she accepted more children, operating expenses mounted. Smith needed more funds to maintain a staff and pay for fuel, repairs, staple foods, and clothing. Sporadic donations quickly dried up. To raise funds, Smith used anniversary celebrations for intensive fund-raising drives. To launch the fourth anniversary in 1903, she published a

pamphlet in which she described the home's financial status and listed its needs: a range for the kitchen, a desk for the office, furniture, money to pay the city to connect the home to Harvey's new water pipes, and money to pay off the mortgage.

The financial statement indicated imminent crisis. Expenses far exceeded revenue. Total income from July 1901 through June 1903 totaled $4,879.56, including $1,298.30 raised from selling *The Helper* and $132.39 from the sales of Smith's autobiography. Subtracting $1,367.07 in printing costs for the book and newspaper, she had only earned $63 from her combined publishing efforts. In those same two years, the report showed the home taking in $2,993.92 in donations, plus $454.75 from the Children's Board.

Mounting Costs

To accommodate the increasing number of children, Smith had bought a cottage, borrowing $600 toward the total cost of $900. The home now included two seven-room cottages and eight 25 x 100-ft. lots. But she had also increased the mortgage payments. In addition to the new mortgage payments, she was responsible for the home's expenses, which included $1,608.84 for property repairs, $1,624.95 for operating expenses such as laundry and fuel, and $68.64 for shoes and dry goods. Second-hand donations clothed the children and furnished the home, but the budget lacked any provisions to pay staff or buy food. Even if they depended on the garden and livestock for food, they would have needed funds for cornmeal, flour, and sugar. With operating expenses exceeding the $3,300 she took in that year, she could hardly have afforded to adequately or regularly pay the staff, which probably explains why the home continuously suffered management problems. During the fourth anniversary fundraising drive, Smith renewed her efforts to raise $20,000 for an endowment fund that would end her dependence on what she recognized were "uncertain and fortuitous sources of supply."[15]

As financial pressures mounted, Smith's interracial network continued to provide help. An unnamed friend donated $500 to pay for the first cottage and gave the school a lot valued at $400. Seeking broadly based support, Smith established an interracial advisory committee, including AME Church officials and white philanthropists. It was headed by John Latimer, the home's new financial officer who played a leading role in raising funds and managing the home's financial affairs. Latimer was an influential lay member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Chicago. He

had worked thirty years for the huge Carson Pirie Scott Department Store and its predecessors as a floor manager and assistant manager at State and Madison Streets and was near retirement when he joined the Smith Home board. Latimer accepted donations through the *Christian Standard* at his office at 102 State Street.[16]

Others named to the advisory board included Chicago realtor Edward Wentworth; wealthy London reform leader Julia Emory; AME Bishops Abraham Grant of Indianapolis, B. F. Lee of Wilberforce, Ohio, and James A. Handy of Baltimore; local ministers John S. Date and L. N. Moyer; George J. Meyer, a Chicago attorney; Mrs. Margaret Davis of Ireland, who had been Smith's chief source of financial help during her eight years in Africa; Bishop James N. Fitzgerald of St. Louis, Missouri, an attorney who had been active in the ME Missionary Society; and Mrs. S. E. Hoffman of Des Moines, Iowa. Officers included Mrs. Jennie Dent, of Chicago, first vice president; and Mrs. I. N. Daniels, of Evanston, second vice president.[17]

African-American club women in the Chicago area, especially Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Hallie Q. Brown, provided intermittent support. Wells-Barnett had acquired an international reputation for her outspoken attacks as a journalist and lecturer on lynching and all forms of white mob violence and racial discrimination. When she met Smith, Wells-Barnett had settled in Chicago, where she organized the first black woman's club in Illinois and was instrumental in founding the NAACP and the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Wells-Barnett later established a settlement house for southern migrants to Chicago. Brown was an author, lecturer, and also a founder of the NACW. Lucy Thurman, the WCTU's first Superintendent of Temperance Work among Colored People, also supported Smith. All three women tried to raise funds for the Smith Home, but their efforts fell far short. Wells-Barnett attempted to persuade Chicago's AME Church leaders to sustain the home, but her efforts failed. Brown and Thurman appeared on the Fourth Anniversary program and invited Smith to be one of the distinguished visitors at the 1903 meeting of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs in Evanston, Illinois. Thurman, as chairwoman of the Ways and Means Committee, helped Smith get an audience with these influential women, but their donations still fell short of the financial support she needed.[18]

Britain's Ladies' Negro Friend Society, a former abolitionist group that aided freedmen and missions to Africa, donated twenty-five British pounds to the home in 1903. In its annual report, the society noted Smith's difficulties, increasing expenses and declining income. The *Christian*

Standard appealed to its readers to support the Smith Home, citing needs for paint, a fence to protect the garden, and furniture for the house and schoolroom. The *Standard* also announced plans to erect a new frame building at a cost of $6,000 to house fifty more children.[19] Such appeals proved inadequate. In spite of mounting financial problems, at the end of 1903, twenty-four children lived at the Smith Home, and the local newspaper, The *Harvey Tribune-Citizen*, praised Smith's work as a model of social reform, saying the children were "being fitted for useful lives instead of being fitted for a life of crime in the slums. They attend the public schools and are considered model children, due to the tactful training of Mrs. Smith."[20]

By February 1904, the home housed thirty-two children, and management problems persisted. Smith failed to effectively delegate responsibility. Despite having a staff, she complained that "every detail of the work and the responsibility [are] upon me." She claimed her financial situation was good because she was free of all debt except the mortgage on a nine-room cottage she had bought to house more children. Although she asked for donations to pay this debt, she declared to the public that the home was faring well.[21]

Although Smith's public statements were optimistic, in 1905 she increased her travels, partially because the home needed all the money she could raise at camp meetings and revivals, but mainly because she needed frequent breaks from its administrative demands. Smith thrived on the emotional and spiritual renewal she received at camp meetings. Returning to the Ocean Grove camp meeting site during the summer of 1905, she gave her often repeated testimony there about the experience at John Inskip's church thirty-seven years before.[22] She also attended the Pullman, Illinois, camp meeting that year, apparently feeling free to travel because two staff members had returned to the home. One of them was her former secretary, Mrs. L. H. N. Coleman, whom Smith called a "faithful worker"; the other, a Miss Biddle who had helped open the home six years before. Smith had put Coleman in charge of the home while she was away.

With Coleman and Biddle taking care of the home, Smith also attended a camp meeting in Des Plaines, Illinois. Although glad to get away from her responsibilities, Smith was disappointed because the camp meeting scene was changing. She feared approaching disharmony and sensed a waning enthusiasm for holiness doctrine as she had understood it. She said, "People are nearly wild. . . . They are confused and disappointed." It seemed to her that the holiness revival was giving way to sensationalism and miraculous claims that she thought had nothing to do with salvation.[23]

While Smith was traveling, Charles Virden, newly appointed State Agent for the Visitation of Children, issued an unfavorable report about the home, citing its persistent debts and claiming that the children were poorly supervised because of Smith's frequent travels. Even when there, he claimed, she was ineffective, spending most of her time in her room "because of her advanced age." In spite of Virden's complaints, state officials allowed the home to continue operating, mainly because it was "the only institution of importance in the state for the care of colored children."[24]

By October 1905, the home teetered on the brink of financial collapse. When Smith returned from spending the winter in California, she canceled two issues of *The Helper* because of low operating funds. She took in only $176.17 in September: $70 from her evangelistic tours and book sales, $16.75 from *The Helper*, $67.42 from donations, and $22 that the children had earned working outside the home. She had only raised $3,400 in pledges toward a $20,000 endowment fund goal. She could not pay for coal to heat the buildings and pleaded with subscribers to *The Helper* to pay their delinquent bills. Printing costs had mounted and mailing the newspaper was expensive, since she sent issues as far away as Canada and Europe and to many parts of the United States.[25]

Deaconess School

Sometime in 1906 Smith graduated from the Chicago Training School for Deaconesses at Grace ME Church, thus achieving a longtime goal of acquiring a formal education. Also in 1906 she relinquished legal control over the Smith Home to an interracial trustee board made up of local business and religious leaders. The president of the board was James Audubon Burhans, a Chicago attorney, real estate broker, and Methodist Church leader. The other trustees were Rev. I. N. Mayer, vice president; Treasurer Edwin S. Gamble, president of Riverdale Lumber Co.; Secretary George M. Metcalf, of the Albany Paper Company; Financial Chairman W. B. Wickersnam, secretary of the Chicago Public Library; and superintendent D. H. V. Purvell. Smith remained as a trustee founder and manager.[26] The former advisory board president, John Latimer, had apparently retired from public life.

The Smith Home's new president, James Burhans, fifty-four, a graduate of DePauw University and Northwestern Law School, was president of Burhans, Ellinwood and Co. Real Estate. Formerly president of the Methodist Episcopal Church's Old People's Home in Chicago, Burhans

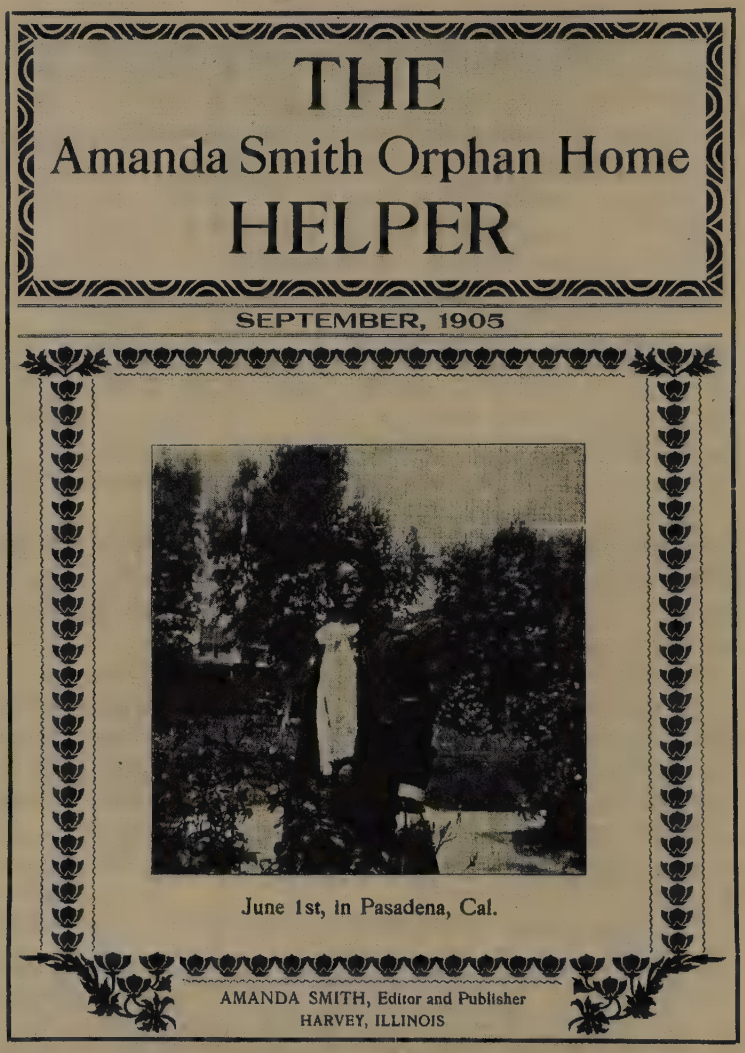
was its endowment fund treasurer. He had also been president of the Epworth Children's Home and now served as its endowment treasurer. He was president of the Methodist Deaconess Orphanage, the Aged Deaconess Rest Home, and the Chicago Deaconess Home, and a trustee of the Wesley Hospital, the Boys Club, and Pacific Garden Mission. Burhans had written *A Digest of the Statutory Laws Governing the Investment of Corporate and Trust Funds* and had been president of the Methodist Sunday School Convention in London and a delegate to the World's Fourth Sunday School Convention in Jerusalem in 1904. Given Burhans' credentials in the church and the business community, Smith appeared to have chosen an expert to run the home's affairs. She also seemed to have acquired an experienced treasurer in E. S. Gamble, a lumber dealer who lived near the home at 15414 Lexington Avenue in Harvey.[27]

As soon as the new administration took over, the State Board of Public Charities gave the home a satisfactory rating, issued a certificate, and approved its new charter. In a financial move reminiscent of 1878 when she relinquished all claims to her house in Philadelphia, on June 14, 1904, Smith relinquished her rights to the twelve lots and two buildings she had purchased, selling them to the new board for $1. On July 26, 1906, she appeared before a notary to affirm that she had voluntarily released the property to the home's board of trustees.[28]

Although Smith may have thought this to be a wise decision, the financial moves Burhans and the board made over the next two years sank the institution into uncontrollable debt. On July 20, 1906, only a month after Burhans took over as president, the Amanda Smith Industrial Home borrowed $1,000 from the Bank of Harvey, mortgaging its two main lots, "with the building and improvements situated thereon," and promising to pay the bill in five years. Payments were due to the Bank of Harvey every year on July 20 and January 20.[29]

Costly Fire

Smith spent the rest of 1906 traveling. She took children from the home to their new families in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Toronto and she spent the rest of the winter in Florida and California. When she returned to Harvey in the spring of 1907, she discovered that while she had been away, fire had destroyed one of the cottages. Revealing strained relations between her and the home's staff and revealing considerably bad judgment on her part, she wrote an open letter to a local newspaper, blasting the workers for not formally thanking the fire department for saving the home.



THE HELPER. This photo of Smith, taken in Pasadena, California, appeared on the front cover of *The Helper*, a newsletter she edited and published to raise funds and promote her orphan home and industrial school in Harvey, Illinois. (From the Collections of the Library of Congress.)

RESCUED CHILDREN. Smith posed with some of the children at Smith Home for a 1905 fund-raising photograph that appeared in a pamphlet used to raise desperately needed funds. (From the Collections of the Library of Congress.)

The letter said in part: "Please pardon the seeming ungratefulness of those whose duty it was to have made this acknowledgment through your paper weeks ago."[30]

Smith had previously complained that black people were ungrateful to whites for going to Africa as missionaries and for otherwise contributing to their welfare. In this letter to the Harvey newspaper, she seems to affirm this continuing sense that fellow blacks did not appreciate help received from whites. Perhaps she was being evenhanded in her criticisms, since she had also been unwavering in resisting racial bigotry, but this public rebuke of her staff probably led to more dissatisfaction among its poorly paid members.

As 1907 wore on, problems continued to mount. For the first time the public schools refused to admit the home's residents, and she had to hire and pay a teacher. With forty children, the home was badly overcrowded and had to refuse three or four children each week. The board had already borrowed money to make repairs and couldn't afford to expand the facilities, which barely met the needs of those already there.

Ida. B. Wells-Barnett invited Smith to an AME bishops' reception she had arranged, hoping to get more support from local AME churches.[31] Wells-Barnett and her husband, Assistant States Attorney Ferdinand Barnett, were members of Quinn Chapel AME in Chicago, where Smith also belonged, but their efforts failed to yield any substantial support.

When the orphan home inspector visited this time, he reported that the staff was "insufficient and incompetent," the children "improperly housed and fed," and the institution "constantly in debt." The value of the property had declined, according to the report, because "scarcely any repairs" had been made. Investigators who had periodically visited the home noted its poor conditions, but continued to issue certificates because the state lacked alternatives for African-American children. Inspector Virden recorded these observations: "On three or four occasions the house was found in a very untidy condition, the children poorly clothed and improperly fed, the beds very dirty and unsanitary with insufficient bed-clothing for cold weather."

He claimed the staff would make improvements after the investigators' visit, but when the investigators returned a few weeks later, the staff were back "to their old habits."[32] Rapid changes in the neighborhood added to the home's problems. Although the area was nearly empty when the Smith Home opened in 1899, by 1907 the nearby lots were filling up with new residents and businesses. Four companies had located a block north at 146th and Jefferson. John W. Cranker, a manager of Harvey Real Estate

Agency had his office and residence at 14620 Jefferson, where James B. Cranker, a printer, also lived. Another printer, Jacob Graybill, and his wife, Barbara, lived in the next big lot at 14614 Jefferson in a building they shared with Miss Mary Graybill, a bookkeeper. Draftsman Paul F. Graybill and A. Rhyniger, an ironworker, lived at 14624 Jefferson.[33] The home's new neighbors may have objected to the home's rundown appearance or to the presence of orphans, many of whom were referred by the juvenile court. They may even have objected to having black neighbors.

Appeal to Washington

In 1908 Ferdinand Barnett's law partner, Samuel Laing Williams, asked Booker T. Washington to consider supporting the building of a new dormitory for the Smith Home. Washington acted as a power broker, determining which requests would be passed on to white philanthropists from black self-help institutions that were seeking donations. Julia Emory, a London philanthropist and member of the Smith Home advisory board, had asked Williams to send her the construction plans for the building, but Williams first wrote Washington asking him if he wanted to see them first.[34] Apparently, Williams would not forward the plans to Emory unless Washington approved the project. Whether Washington responded is not clear, but the building was never built.

Although Smith had given up legal claim to the Smith Home property, she continued buying lots. On August 2, 1909, she bought a lot adjacent to the others owned by the home, purchasing it from Myra J. Jolidon, a cook county widow, for $200 cash.[35] This purchase gave the home control of all except one of nine lots in Block S of the Academy Edition of Harvey. By 1910 the Smith Home had three farm vehicles in operation and housed thirty-two children. Smith, now seventy-three, still acted as head of operations. The staff included two matrons: Maria Wheeler, fifty, a black woman from Maryland, and Eva Bottom, twenty-five, a white woman from Michigan; a forty-five-year-old black woman teacher, Anna Hangor; and a cook, a Mrs. Brown, also black. Two of the female residents were eighteen and worked outside the Home as domestics. Most of the rest, aged three to fifteen, were girls whose parents were unknown.[36]

By 1912 Smith had grown frail and exhausted from bouts with arthritis and respiratory problems and the pressures of overseeing the home. Although she had assembled an impressive trustee board and seemed to have a competent staff, the Home remained financially insolvent. For her

seventy-fifth birthday, area supporters announced a silver and gold shower intended to raise needed funds. The *Chicago Defender* announced the celebration and the invitation to "all friends of the home, white and colored," who were asked to bring or send "a silver dollar or gold piece to ease the burden that rests upon this great woman's heart and hands." A printed invitation with a recent photograph revealed her worn expression. The birthday reception lasted from 10 a.m. to 11 p.m. A columnist for the *Defender* reported that the event had been a success, heaping praises on Smith as "our grand old woman," and "a splendid object lesson for intelligent and vigorous women no matter what their age."[37]

Florida Home

On November 15, 1912, Smith left her duties as head of the home and moved to Sebring, Florida, where wealthy Ohio china manufacturer George Sebring had founded a second town.[38] Sebring had met Smith during one of her visits to camp meetings in Ohio. After he received the "second blessing" of sanctification through her preaching, Sebring promised to provide her a place to live if she ever needed one.[39] In 1911 Sebring had left Ohio and settled on the ten-thousand-acre tract he had bought in Florida. There he founded a new town with a deliberately religious bent. Bringing other northern families with him, he built his home near Lake Jackson and erected several cottages nearby for retiring ministers. Defying the South's rigid color line, Sebring built Smith's cottage just south of his own house. A local resident predicted possible trouble because her bungalow was "not in 'colored town,'" but just south of the town founder's.[40]

After Smith left, Burhans mortgaged the rest of the home's major lots for a meager $400 loan. He named David R. Anderson of Chicago as trustee of ten lots including all the buildings. Burhans claims to have made this move because the home owed L. S. Brooke $400. On October 19, 1912 a Trust Deed was issued by Burhans, as president, and F. B. Williams, as secretary of the home, and was notarized on February 25, 1913.[41]

Seemingly detached from the financial maneuvering in Harvey, on March 20, 1913, Smith wrote Emmett Scott, editor of the *Tuskegee Student* and secretary to Booker T. Washington, informing him that she had given up the work at the home in Harvey because of failing health and had turned it over to an unnamed couple whom she described as "young and strong and with every possibility before them." Candidly expressing

how happy she was to leave the home, she wrote:

> I am so glad to be relieved of the care and the burden which became too much for me at my time of life. I have already past my 76th birthday, Jan. 23rd. Some kind white friends have given me a home here during my life time, will look after my other needs so that I am relieved of the care and anxiety.[42]

Her handwriting faltering, on March 28, 1913, Smith wrote Booker T. Washington, lamenting the "sad news" that their mutual friend and benefactor, Julia Emory, had recently died.[43]

The end of the Smith Home seemed near on May 9, 1913, when the Municipal Court of Chicago awarded Mayme E. Clay a judgment of $32.50 plus costs on an outstanding debt against the home and directed the sheriff to sell the property at auction at the east main entrance of the Cook County Court on Clark Street. On December 9, 1913, the auction was held outside the courthouse door. In an order filed December 15, Cook County Sheriff Michael Zimmer noted that all the home's property had been sold at auction to Lula S. Brooke for $217.37 and ordered that she be entitled to the deed on March 10, 1915, "unless the same shall be redeemed as provided by law."[44] Land and buildings for which Smith had paid nearly $10,000 had been sold for a little over $200, but somehow the home's new managers bailed it out of this crisis.

In June 1913, the orphanage received a new charter under the Industrial Act. The boys were moved to the Louise Manual Training School for Boys on the West Side of Chicago and the home was renamed the Amanda Smith Industrial School for Girls. Under the new charter Cook County child welfare authorities paid the home $15 per month per child. Its directors and trustees were now nearly all businessmen, but the school's administrative staff remained unacceptable to the state Board of Administration. Virden reported that despite regular funding, the staff still included persons who were "incompetent or who became discouraged and resigned." He reported that "constant complaints were lodged against the home" about the children's care, and he had seriously considered closing it in 1913, but relented "because there was no Protestant institution for the care of colored girls in Illinois other than this one." The board allowed the school to operate out of "tolerance," he wrote, but every inspection uncovered "incompetent help, inadequate supplies and general negligence." In addition he claimed that "it has been impossible to get an intelligent accounting of the funds handled."[45]

In July 1914, Ida B. Wells-Barnett organized another fund-raising

anniversary celebration for the home. Sponsored by the Ideal Woman's Club, which she had founded, the event attracted about one hundred people, including eleven local pastors. The club donated $5 and raised another $20 at the event, "with other donations promised." The supporters included Julius F. Taylor, editor of *The Broad Ax*, a black-owned newspaper published in St. Paul, Minnesota. Ida Wells-Barnett delivered the main address, but once again her well-intentioned support fell far short of the institution's needs.[46]

Heavily in debt because of unpaid loans and mortgages on the lots and buildings, the current directors were unable to repay their creditors and therefore could not borrow additional funds to make needed repairs and improvements.

Fatal Stroke

While living in Sebring, Smith began attending the fledgling Methodist Episcopal Church, which was holding services in the local schoolhouse. She apparently joined, since Newcomb Baker, a Sebring citizen, noted in a diary entry dated Sunday, February 2, 1913, that with thirty attending services that day, "When pastor 'opened doors' of M. E. church as usual, Mrs. Amanda Smith, colored, asked admission."[47] Smith apparently planned to open a mission and settlement house, but in January she suffered a stroke that left her left side paralyzed.[48]

One of her sisters, identified only as "Miss Ward . . . of Brooklyn" came to care for her; and on February 25, 1915, Smith died of a cerebral thrombosis. Sebring shipped her body to Chicago, where hundreds came to Quinn Chapel AME Church to pay their respects. Ferdinand Barnett read the obituary. Smith's sister lived with the Barnetts before returning home to Brooklyn.[49] Sebring purchased a cemetery plot in Homewood, Illinois, near Harvey, where Smith's body was buried near the front. Even when the cemetery later removed the bodies of blacks who had been buried there, Smith's grave remained.

After Amanda Smith died, Virden forced Smith School Board Chairman Ferdinand Barnett and several other blacks to resign by threatening to ask the state Board of Administration to cancel the home's certificate and close it down if they refused. Four black members remained, including Ida Wells-Barnett. Realtor Edward Wentworth continued as president and Mrs. E. J. Austin as principal. Wentworth was also president of the Neighborhood Improvement League of Cook County, the South Central Improvement Association, and the Independent

Religious Society and vice president of the South Central Bureau of Charities.[50]

The new board was now predominately white, with four black women, four white women, and a white male president. One of the black members, Eliza Halliday, had supported the institution since 1902, when she took part in the black women's club effort to help Smith erect a new building. The white female members included Esther W. S. Brophy, member of a prominent Chicago family and wife of oral surgeon Truman W. Brophy, and Ellen Martin Henrotin, prominent club woman and wife of a bank president. Both Henrotin and Brophy served on the all-white Park Ridge Girl's School board, and Henrotin was one of Chicago's most prominent social reform leaders and advocates of industrial education.[51]

Between 1894 and 1898 Henrotin had been president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which barred black women from its conventions. "A fluent writer and a compelling speaker," Henrotin persuaded local women's clubs to support more educational opportunities and better labor conditions for women and helped ensure that women's issues were included in the World's Columbian Expositions held in Chicago in 1893. A trustee of the University of Illinois since 1912, Henrotin was not as outspoken on racial issues as she was on gender inequities, since both the federation she headed and the Chicago Exposition excluded African-Americans. Henrotin took over the management of Smith School funds from Ferdinand Barnett.[52]

On March 16, 1915, the new sheriff of Cook County, John E. Traeger, turned over the school's property to Lula S. Brooke and her heirs, but it continued operating. The new board hired Adah M. Waters, a graduate of Cheney Training School for Colored Teachers, as superintendent and added an English teacher and sewing instructor supplied by the University of Chicago. The board asked the architect of Park Ridge School to draw up plans to renovate its buildings, bought supplies, refurnished the school, had the neglected gardens replanted, and planned to buy a new furnace.[53]

Waters steered the curriculum away from work habits and character building by adding an academic department and expanding vocational training. She drew up an ambitious plan that divided the school into three departments: vocational, academic, and home training. Waters continued to emphasize home training because, she said, "the average poor colored girl is deficient in it."

Since juvenile court or social workers referred most of the school's orphaned and neglected wards, many had severe behavior problems. Waters observed that "among our number we had girls who were hardened

in lying, stealing and fighting. Some had formed other pernicious habits we do not often associate with young girls." According to Waters, the school transformed those with "twisted natures" and "a dull crude manner" into "gentle, refined, honest girls . . . beautiful, wholesome and sweet. . . attractive and courageous, eager learners" who longed for "the things best in life when once the inner eye has been opened."

Waters' vocational education plan included home economics, nursing, manicuring, hair and physical culture, chiropody, stenography, and horticulture. Documents from earlier years indicate that the school had once offered horticulture and home economics, but the other courses would have been new. The academic plans included eight years of English, an advanced English course equivalent to what the Chicago high schools offered in their four-year industrial course, and what was then called Negro history, literature, and social conditions.

For home training, Waters proposed a beginners course to "train a girl for womanhood . . . fundamental principles of character building that would teach them how to develop harmoniously soul, mind and body—sexology as pertains to girls—morals and manners." She also planned an advanced course in motherhood, to teach them how to train children and "the amenities in the home, polite society, and public business."[54]

Waters' ambitious reforms depended on the school's recovering financially. In 1915 it sat on eighteen lots, but seventeen were encumbered by liens because of unpaid debt. The cottage that burned down in 1906 had never been rebuilt. Waters apparently asked philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears and Roebuck, to donate funds to the troubled home. At the end of a long report to Rosenwald's secretary, Virden argued that if the outstanding debts were paid and "suitable buildings erected" the institution could become self-supporting and "an important feature in caring for the colored girls of Illinois."[55] In spite of his sharp criticisms of the home's management, Virden finally recommended that Rosenwald invest in the school's future.

Meager Help

Rosenwald was a member of Tuskegee Institute's board of trustees and donated about $63 million in philanthropy, some of it to black institutions. Besides Tuskegee, he made substantial contributions to Provident Hospital in Chicago, Hampton Institute in Virginia, and Meharry Medical School in Nashville. His concern for social welfare programs and education for

Southern blacks meant that his secretary fielded numerous requests for aid from institutions that served black communities throughout the country. But before he invested in any institution, Rosenwald insisted there be evidence that it had substantial support from the surrounding community and a sound financial plan.

On June 22, 1915, Edward Wentworth sent Virden, now the secretary of the State Board of Administration, a detailed description of Smith School's financial situation. Wentworth admitted its history of delinquent mortgages. The Bank of Harvey had two lawsuits pending against the school, and sheriff's deeds had been issued to Burke, to whom the school owed money. Wentworth advised that only complicated legal maneuvering could allow anyone to own the land outright.[56] Wentworth asked Rosenwald to donate whatever amount he felt justified to give "under the circumstances." The school needed $4,000 to pay off existing debts and another $4,500 to rehabilitate its buildings, build a fence, and plant a garden. Wentworth argued that the institution was "absolutely essential" to the black community but required large sums of money and the support of "people of means" to effectively help "our large colored population."[57]

Instead of providing funds, Rosenwald suggested a daring social experiment: move the girls at Smith School to all-white Park Ridge School. In the winter of 1915, an alarmed Esther Brophy, the Smith School board member who was also a trustee at Park Ridge, flatly rejected Rosenwald's idea. She feared interracial sexual liaisons among the girls and a hostile community reaction to a racially mixed institution. She claimed:

> These [African-American] girls when put with or even near the same class of white girls, even in separate cottages, exercise a very deleterious influence on each other. They manage to communicate, the same as prisoners will in prison, even if forbidden, and they had love affairs, and act in a way that is demoralizing. A woman was just telling me some of this whose sister had been employed at the N. J. State Home for girls, and said it was disgusting.[58]

Brophy added that local reaction would also make the situation "impossible" since the community already resented the presence of the school. She added, "it is bad enough with the white girls." Brophy pleaded with Rosenwald to pay half of the $975 costs to replace the furnace the board had apparently bought on credit. Rosenwald offered to donate $275, but Brophy said they needed more because "there is no other money in sight, unless it comes from my family!"[59]

The school never received the needed funds, and by the spring of 1916 Henrotin, its financial officer, had apparently relinquished her duties and was no longer an active board member. On April 1, 1916, a desperate Wentworth, acting as the school's treasurer, complained to Rosenwald's secretary that the county had held up their funds for three months while legislators debated whether public funds could be used to support "sectarian" schools. With no income from the state, the school had "exhausted its credit entirely." On the brink of shutting down and returning the forty-two girls who lived there to the county "for recommitment," Wentworth had loaned the school some of his personal funds to help pay expenses. He lamented that the institution now had no resources "and very few friends that can do anything for us."[60]

According to its 1917 budget statement, the Smith School now depended on public funds: $6,000 of its income came from county coffers and only $550 from donations. When the county withheld money during the winter months, the staff undoubtedly despaired. Rosenwald immediately responded with two donations of $500 and $250 and loaned the school another $500. On April 26 Wentworth repaid the loan after the county released funds, but the school still owed $250 for furnace repairs.[61]

In addition to Wentworth's efforts, Waters made frequent trips to Sears' corporate offices to ask Graves for Rosenwald's help. In December 1917, Waters complained that she could not assemble the board members for a conference as Graves had requested. According to the list of five persons Graves had asked Waters to invite, either Graves excluded the board's African-American members or they had resigned. In spite of this apparent disintegration of the school, a strangely optimistic Waters asked Rosenwald to contribute $27,925 to repair the present cottage, build a new one, pay the staff, hire a janitor and gardener, and provide food and milk for the school's forty-seven girls. She also suggested that if a small manufacturer were to establish a factory nearby, some of the girls could work to "defray at least part of their expenses," even though her educational plan had eliminated the former emphasis on menial work that had once characterized the school.[62]

Final Days

None of Waters' plans materialized, nor did the school ever offer anything more than the beginners' course in home training, the first eight years of English, and "elementary training in plain sewing, cooking, waiting table, care of rooms, laundry-child nurse training." The $1,132.77 in unpaid bills

listed in the 1917 financial report was never apparently paid, nor was any substantial help provided by philanthropists. In March 1918, the Smith School property was only worth an estimated $2,000. The school owed a $1,400 mortgage.[63] Its value had plummeted due to a general recession as well as to the depreciation of the buildings.

The institution's decline reached a tragic conclusion on November 21, 1918, when faulty electrical wiring sparked a fire that destroyed the living quarters and killed two girls. In a page one, banner headline story, the *Chicago Defender* reported the fire and the home's management problems. Only three board members remained. The state required seven for the school to be licensed. Wentworth had held on as treasurer, and Adah Waters was still its superintendent.

According to the *Defender,* Wilfred Reynolds of the Children's Aid Society, Rev. Bryant of the South Park Avenue ME Church, A. N. Fields of the *Defender*, a Mrs. Layman of the Juvenile Court, and T. Arnold Hill of the Urban League met to discuss the future of what was now called the Amanda Smith School. Hill had come to Chicago to orchestrate a consolidation of services for the poor under the umbrella of the Urban League.

The editor of the *Defender* expected the Urban League to recommend that county officials transfer the children to private homes. Ida Wells tried to persuade the City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs to ask Dr. George Cleveland Hall, chief of staff at Provident Hospital and an advisor to Rosenwald, to have the children housed temporarily at the Douglass Center until the federation could find them suitable homes or rebuild the school. Hill objected to Wells' proposal, and acting against Wells' advice, the Colored Women's Club Federation joined Hill for a meeting with the Children's Home and Aid Society. Afterwards, the Children's Home and Aid Society employed "two or three colored women to find homes for the children." According to Wells, "many people took those children for the money there was in it for themselves."[64]

No one rebuilt the Amanda Smith Industrial School for Girls. Its creditors apparently claimed the property, and the school disappeared without a trace. Although Amanda Smith had been a legend in her lifetime, the institution she built crumbled under a mounting weight of debt and neglect, its memory fading into obscurity along with that of its founder.

Notes

1. "Amanda Smith's Colored Orphanage," *Christian Standard,* 29 July 1899, 14.

2. *The Helper*, newsletter, Amanda Smith, ed., November 1907, 2. "The Amanda Smith Industrial Home," pamphlet, Booker T. Washington (BTW) Papers, miscellaneous printed matter, Library of Congress.

3. Smith, *The Helper*, November 1907, 2.

4. *The Helper*, November 1907, 2. BTW Papers, miscellaneous papers. Alec C. Kerr, ed., *History: The City of Harvey, 1890-1962* (Harvey, Ill.: First National Bank, 1962), 15-16 and 79-80.

5. *Harvey Herald,* 5 October 1899.

6. Amanda Smith, letter, *Christian Standard,* 30 June 1900, 11-12.

7. *U.S. Census*, 1900, Illinois, Cook County, Thornton Township, North Harvey. According to the census, the eleven children living at the Home in 1900 were James Alexander, 12, born in Mississippi; the Martin children: Ellen, 11, Hattie, 10, Allen, 9, Janie, 8, and Robert, 5, all born in Mississippi; the Thompson children: Harry, 12, Louis, 11, and Marie, 9, all born in Illinois; and the Elbys: Travers H., 11, and Walter, 6, both born in Wisconsin.

8. Esther Hall Mumford, *Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901* (Seattle: Ananse Press, 1980), 155 and 157. *The Republican* (Seattle), 5 August 1900, 4.

9. Land Records, 6967/611, 7315/271, and 7193/629, Cook County, Ill.

10. S. B. Shaw, ed., *Echoes of the General Holiness Assembly Held in Chicago, May 3-13* (Chicago: S. B. Shaw, 1901; repr., New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984).

11. "Personal" and "News from the Field," *Union Signal*, 20 June 1901, 9 and 11. "Amanda Smith Hurt," *Christian Standard*, 15 June 1901, 16. Amanda Smith, letter, North Harvey, Ill., *Christian Standard*, 20 June 1901, 12-13.

12. S. M. Merrill, letter, Chicago, 18 June 1901, *Christian Standard*, 13 July 1901, 13. Land Records, 7987/566, Cook County, Ill.

13. "Amanda Smith Home," *Christian Standard*, 28 June 1902, 16.

14. "Fourth Anniversary" publicity pamphlet, Amanda Smith Industrial Home, BTW Papers, Library of Congress.

15. "Fourth Anniversary of the Amanda Smith Orphanage leaflet, 29 June 1903. "The Amanda Smith Industrial Home," pamphlet, BTW Papers, miscellaneous papers, Library of Congress.

16. "Fourth Anniversary," leaflet, BTW Papers. Obituary, John Mills Latimer, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 31 October 1916, 3. *Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago* (Chicago: Donnelley, Gassette & Lloyd, 1902, 1905, 1908, and 1911). "Amanda Smith," *Christian Standard,* 2 May 1903, 16.

17. *Directory, City of Chicago* (1911).

18. *A History of the Club Movement*, n.d., Ida B. Wells Papers, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. Emilie M. Townes, "Because God Gave Her Vision: The Religious Impulse of Ida B. Wells-Barnett,"in *Spirituality and Social*

Responsibility: Vocational Vision of Women in the United Methodist Tradition, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 151. Also see Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984).

19. *Ladies' Negro Friend Society, 77th Report, 1903* (Birmingham: Paul Hicks & Co.), 6-7, BTW Papers, Library of Congress. "Amanda Smith," *Christian Standard*, 2 May 1903, 15.

20. *Harvey Tribune-Citizen*, Manufacturer's and Business Men's Edition Supplement, 1902-1903.

21. *Christian Standard*, 26 March 1904, 20. Amanda Smith, letter, Harvey, Ill., February 17, 1904, *Christian Standard,* 26 March 1904, 20.

22. May C. Clark, "Ocean Grove," *Christian Standard,* 25 February 1905, 13.

23. Amanda Smith, "Jottings by the Way," *The Helper,* September 1905, 3-6.

24. Charles Virden, letter to W. C. Graves, 30 June 1915, Julius Rosenwald Papers, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago.

25. *The Helper,* September 1905, 4-5.

26. *200 Years of United Methodism: An Illustrated History* (Madison, N.J.: Drew University, 1984), 51. *The Harvey Tribune-Citizen*, 1 June 1906, 4. *Bumstead's Harvey City Directory, 1907-1908* (Chicago: Bumstead & Co., 1907).

27. Albert Nelson Marquis, ed., *The Book of Chicagoans: A Biographical Dictionary of Living Men and Women of the City of Chicago* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1917), 103. *Harvey City Directory* (Chicago: Bumstead and Co., 1907).

28. Land Records, 9591/201 and 9591/202, Cook County, Ill.

29. Recorder of Deeds, 9706/273, Cook County, Ill.

30. *Harvey Tribune-Citizen,* 7 June 1907.

31. *The Helper*, November 1907, 7.

32. Virden, letter to Graves, 30 June 30 1915, Rosenwald Papers. Although the letter is dated 1915, its contents refer to previous observations.

33. *Harvey City Directory, 1907.*

34. Samuel Laing Williams, letter to Booker T. Washington, Chicago, 10 March 1908, *The Booker T. Washington Papers: 1906-1908*, vol. 9, eds.. Louis B. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 465.

35. Recorder of Deeds, 10914/280, Cook County.

36. *U.S. Census*, 1910, Illinois, Thorton Township, Harvey City. The thirty-one children listed as Smith Home residents in 1910, with their genders (m or f) and ages were as follows (note that the census was handwritten and very difficult to read so some spellings may be wrong): August Bottom, f, 6 months.; Clifton Williams, m, 11; John Baskens, m, 10; Ralph Shayn, m, 12; Carl Watkins, m, 5; Morton Redford, m, 7; Clarence Bullen, m, 10; Theodore Ruffner, m, 8; Robert Simmons, m, 6; Albert Humes, m, 12; Clarence Ford, m, 15; Ruth Jackson, f, 8; Unneata Baskins, f, 8; Anna Johnson, f, 7; Maryon Watkins, f, 4; Isola Bedford, f, 11; Charlot Haris, f, 9; Viola Wood, f, 12; Alice Meeks, f, 5; Cloteal Meeks, f,

11; Hazel Jackson f, 5; Mary Johnson, f, 12; Chris Works, f, 12; Wanda Brown, f, 5; Willie Jackson, f, 4; Eddie Johnson, f, 3; Veronica Meeks, f, 3; Grace Jackson, f, 4; Nona White, f, 18; Vila Johnson, f, 14; and Morris Thompson, f, 18.

37. "Amanda Smith's 75th Birthday," *Chicago Defender*, 20 January 1912, 1. "75th Birthday Anniversary," Card and Invitations, miscellaneous, BTW Papers, Library of Congress. "Our Women," by Sabine, *Chicago Defender*, 27 January 1912, 2.

38. The first town Sebring founded is Sebring, Ohio, in Stark County.

39. Julia Savage, "The Last Days of Sister Amanda Smith," *AME Church Review*, ed. Reverdy C. Ransom (April 1915), 379.

40. *The Fifty Years of Sebring (1912-1962)*, Sebring, Fla., Historical Society, 8-10 and 110.

41. Recorder of Deeds, 12340/83, Cook County, Ill.

42. Amanda Smith, letter to Emmet J. Scott, Sebring, Fla., 20 March 1913, General Correspondence, BTW Papers, Library of Congress.

43. Amanda Smith, letter to Booker T. Washington, Sebring, Fla., 28 March 1913, General Correspondence, BTW Papers, Library of Congress.

44. Land Records, 12700/68, Clerk's Office, Cook County, Ill.

45. Virden, letter to Graves, 30 June 1915, Rosenwald Papers.

46. *Chicago Defender*, 4 July 1914.

47. Diary of Newcomb Baker, Sebring Historical Society Collections, Sebring, Fla.

48. Savage, "The Last Days of Sister Amanda Smith," 378.

49. "Amanda Smith, Race Martyr, Sleeps Near Her Monument," *Chicago Defender*, 6 March 1915, 1-2.

50. Virden, letter to Graves, 30 June 1915, Rosenwald Papers. *Chicago Tribune*, 6 March 1915, 11. John W. Leonard, ed., *The Book of Chicagoans: a Biographical Dictionary of Leading Living Men of the City of Chicago* (Chicago: A.N. Marquis & Co., 1905), 604.

51. *History of the Club Movement*, Ida B. Wells Papers. Leonard, *Book of Chicagoans*, 89. J. Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders: a Century of Marvelous Growth*, vol. 4 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912), 68.

52. Harlan and Smock, eds., *BTW Papers*, vol. 4, 239. Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 181.

53. Land Records, 13322/260, Cook County, Ill. Virden, letter to Graves, 30 June 1915, Rosenwald Papers.

54. Adah Waters, letter to William Graves, 20 December 1917, Rosenwald Papers.

55. Virden to Graves, 30 June 1915, Rosenwald Papers.

56. Edward Wentworth, letter to Charles Virden, 22 June 1915, Rosenwald Papers.

57 Wentworth to William C. Graves, 20 July 1915, Rosenwald Papers.

58. Esther W. S. Brophy, letter to Julius Rosenwald, 7 December 1915, Rosenwald Papers.

59. Brophy to Rosenwald, 7 December 1915, Rosenwald Papers.

60. Edward Wentworth to William Graves, 1 April 1916, Rosenwald Papers.

61. Virden, letter to Graves, 30 June 1915. Adah Waters, letter to William Graves, 20 December 1917, Rosenwald Papers.

62. Waters to Graves, 20 December 1917, Rosenwald Papers.

63. Wilfred S. Reynolds, letter to Rosenwald, 29 March 1918, Rosenwald Papers.

64. *Chicago Defender*, 30 November 1918. Alfreda M. Duster, ed., *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 373-374.

POPULAR PORTRAIT. To raise funds for the orphan home and to promote her ministry, Amanda Smith sold portraits of herself, such as this one, which appeared in a pamphlet distributed to potential contributors. (From the Collections of the Library of Congress.)

Conclusion

Amanda Smith's life illustrates how an ordinary individual attuned to the spirit of God and living at a favorable historic moment can have an extraordinary impact on her times in spite of restrictions and oppression based on race, gender, and class. Ironically, while social and religious reform movements in late-nineteenth-century America were promoting equality and dignity for "common people," new legal sanctions, extralegal terrorism, and economic discrimination were forcing African-Americans to the margins of U.S. society. During this same era white supremacy, a traveling companion of Western imperialism, spread to Africa and Asia with the conquering armies of England, France, Germany, and the United States. As the darker peoples of the world lost their political sovereignty and economic independence to the industrialized Western powers, Christian missionaries from Europe and North America undertook an unprecedented effort to bring the gospel to "heathen lands." These contradictory impulses—racism, populist egalitarianism, conquest, exploitation, and Christian idealism—provided the context for Smith's extraordinary life and help explain why the problems of race, class, and gender inequality have lingered into the twenty-first century.

Smith's life also challenges conventional stereotypes that depict Victorian era women as passive and retiring, unable or unwilling to act on their own or to sustain themselves by their own efforts. Coalescing social reform movements, which were developing momentum when Smith moved to New York City, enabled her to become a respected public figure. The resurgent women's movement, the temperance crusade, and the evangelical holiness revival created a climate that allowed Smith to have a successful public career in spite of the forbidding racial climate at the end of the nineteenth century.

Historians of the late nineteenth century have argued that for black women, the women's movement helped offset racial discrimination, allowing African-American women prominent roles in society during an era when black people in general suffered increased social segregation,

political disfranchisement, and economic decline. An additional factor should be included in this analysis: the egalitarian thrust of the holiness revival that temporarily crossed boundaries of race, gender, and class, bringing together society's disparate groups in camp meetings and other kinds of protracted revival meetings, where the common denominator of spiritual striving offset the hardening social divisions of the age. The life of Amanda Berry Smith illustrates the potential for, and limitations of, interracial cooperation among evangelical Christians during the nineteenth-century Holiness Movement.

Smith spent her early adult life trapped in what Gloria Wade-Gales describes as "a small, dark enclosure" where black women have been forced to live in "pain, isolation, and vulnerability."[1] While living in a cramped apartment in a back alleyway in New York, Smith traveled as a servant, cooking and carrying water for wealthy camp meeting followers and sleeping on the ground with her daughter. By exercising her singing and speaking abilities during camp meeting testimony services, she won a reputation as an effective speaker and songstress and moved into a public arena that began with speaking engagements at African Methodist churches and eventually led to international renown. In spite of the dominant segregationist ideologies and the apparent accommodation of most African-Americans, men and women who believed they were called by God to promote racial justice and equality—whether outspoken militant crusaders like Ida B. Wells-Barnett or non-political evangelical leaders like Amanda Berry Smith—maintained the quest for justice and equality against formidable odds. As Edith Brooks Higginbotham noted in her study of black Baptist women at the turn of the century, church women simultaneously opposed racial discrimination and embraced self-help and racial uplift, thereby challenging the notion that African-Americans either exclusively followed Booker T. Washington's accommodationist program or W. E. B. DuBois' path of militant political protest. It would appear that the majority of African-Americans embraced selected aspects of both leaders' programs.

In her messages and letters, Smith spoke out against the suppression of striking mineworkers and supported the prohibition of beverage alcohol, which she linked to the exploitation of the working class. Smith was a charter member of the Illinois NAACP and close friend of Ida B. Wells. Although Booker T. Washington's ideas and his style put him at odds with Wells and the NAACP, Smith was equally comfortable corresponding with Washington's secretary, looking to the Tuskegee machine to support her orphan home and industrial school, and working closely with Wells and the NAACP.

Although most African-Americans maintained separate, race-identified institutions, and chose other blacks as their friends and companions, Smith operated in an interracial environment, many times being one of a minute minority of blacks at white camp meetings and church services. Although very few African-Americans attended Phoebe Palmer's Tuesday holiness meetings or had leadership positions among the national holiness organization, Smith's presence and her impact indicates that the evangelical Holiness Movement had the potential to be distinctly interracial. Donald Dayton has described how nineteenth-century evangelicals were concerned with important areas of social reform, including opposition to racial segregation and discrimination. During Smith's years as a preacher, evangelical Christianity, with its holiness message, resurrected the spiritual experience that transcended race and culture described in the biblical account of the Day of Pentecost in the second chapter of Acts. It foreshadowed the early years of modern Pentecostalism, when believers of all races fellowshipped together on equal terms. The holiness evangelists popular at the end of the nineteenth century promoted reform on several fronts. They sparked the drive to abolish the sale of alcohol, which led to the ill-fated Prohibition era of the 1920s. Some evangelical leaders pressed for women to have the right to speak in public and to take full part in government as voters. They established orphanages and settlement houses to help poor immigrants from Europe and the American South and to help destitute children of all races. Their camp meetings brought together the diverse elements of American society, worshiping together in a spirit of equality. Therefore, they also promoted racial equality and cooperation, even if on a limited basis.

Somewhat surprisingly, Amanda Smith maintained major elements of her cultural heritage while working and living among whites. She infused her sermons and singing with the unique cultural traits of her enslaved forebears, yet reached a mass audience of both whites and blacks. She modified her public ministry style, spending more time in prayer and more time with seekers at mainly black meetings, but her methods were consistent for whatever racial or national group she encountered. Whether speaking or singing for predominately white or predominately black religious gatherings, she sang songs that originated with enslaved black Christians on Southern plantations as well as hymns penned by white Christians and published in Methodist songbooks. She stirred congregations with emotional appeals and used examples from everyday life to illustrate her sermons. Her preaching style remained well within the traditions forged by female preachers in general and black preachers of

either gender. Whites accepted her on her own terms and blacks accepted her as well.

Yet neither the Church nor the holiness reformers could provide Smith a haven from racism. At camp meetings, while running revivals, and during her travels Smith faced racial prejudice, from the general public and from fellow Christian reformers. The personal factor that allowed her to succeed was her ability to reconcile what W. E. B. DuBois called the African-American's "dual consciousness" of being part of two streams of history and culture: one African and the other American. Smith operated successfully in both white and black environments.

Smith endured considerable psychological and social pressure from both whites and blacks because she carried herself as an equal among whites. To act as a bridge between the races, she had to endure considerable criticism from both sides. Several times she mentioned in her letters the ridicule she faced from other blacks who challenged her choice of white companions and her ministry to mainly white congregations. She was especially vulnerable when she was seen on social occasions in public with wealthy whites. Enduring the label of a "white-folks' nigger," she felt the sting of implications from other African-Americans that she was pandering to whites in order to enjoy the privileges of wealth and status that came with associating with the rich and to avoid identification with other blacks. At camp meetings indignant whites sometimes questioned her right to speak to a white audience and she was snubbed and even barred from some white churches in the early years of her career.

Her most difficult struggles with race seemed to have been internal. Like other African-Americans, she was affected by the majority culture's disdain for black people. On many occasions her inner doubt about the abilities and character of other blacks seemed to persist in spite of her claims to have overcome her fear of whites and her desire to be like them. In her latter years, when the strain of operating the orphanage and industrial school seemed nearly to break her spirit, she harshly criticized her staff, implying that their failures were due to their being black, rather than to their being overworked and underpaid. While proclaiming pride in her color and calling it the "royal black" created by God and worthy of respect, she also harbored doubts about whether black people as a group were really equal with whites.

Amanda Smith's life is also useful in the study of black efforts to build and sustain institutions. As a preacher and itinerate missionary who loved to travel and who spent most of her life moving from place to place, Smith was not well-suited to the role of institution builder and administrator. She

was impatient with details and dogmatic in her approach to her largely volunteer staff. Although she worked successfully to publicize and raise money for the Smith Home, she was unable to recruit an adequate staff that could satisfactorily operate the home and maintain financial supporters. She also seems to have made some questionable choices to manage her financial affairs, since her business associates lost the property she had worked so hard to pay for.

Although Smith failed as an institution builder, she undoubtedly influenced younger African-American women with her example of piety mixed with public service. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, who, along with her husband, befriended Smith in her latter years and tried to help raise money to support her school and orphan home, may have modeled her own efforts to develop a settlement house to aid Southern migrants to Chicago on Smith's efforts to help black orphans in Harvey. Like Smith, Wells-Barnett combined Christian faith and social consciousness. Christian faith fueled Wells-Barnett's sense of social responsibility and motivated her to lead a lonely, but effective, crusade against lynching, discrimination, and segregation. Like the younger Wells-Barnett and other contemporary black female reformers, Smith fused personal faith with social reform: in her early life as champion of the temperance cause and education for African women and in her latter life as founder of an orphan home and industrial school meant to save black children from destitution and forced labor. Rather than being a panacea that discourages social involvement and diverts attention from reality to a distant heavenly reward, Christian faith for Smith was a source of motivation that sustained her efforts to reform both individuals and society in the face of formidable opposition.

Notes

1. Gloria Wade-Gayles, *Visions of Race and Sex in Black Women's Fiction* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1984), quoted by Emilie M. Townes, in *Womanist Justice, Womanist Hope*, American Academy of Religion Academy Series, ed. Susan Thistlethwaite (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 63.

Appendix

A Sunday Sermon Delivered by Amanda Berry Smith

From *The Weekly Item*, Passaic, New Jersey
February 10, 1877

Sermon last Sunday morning by Miss Amanda Smith of Philadelphia, a colored woman [delivered at the Methodist Episcopal Church, pastor Anne Oliver].

In connection with the thought of the wonderful love of Christ to us, we must look to see what He came to save. He died to save us, soul and body; not one member only, not the head, the heart, the tongue, but the whole man, the soul and the body. And it was by giving His whole life a sacrifice for sin that He purchased our redemption. I want to read in the twelfth chapter of Romans, for I see in it, more than anywhere else, the satisfaction for living a life fully, entirely consecrated. (Reads Rom. xii-1.)

A "reasonable service" is one that I admire very much. When I look at our weakness and God's love and find He says it is a reasonable service, I say with all my heart, very reasonable. By these mercies He blesseth the present. These mercies are not a Sunday affair, but are innumerable, are given every day. Men looking into God's word are not puzzled by great requests made of them. God requires only simple things of them. If we should try to set down His mercies, we should get bewildered. You couldn't sum them up. "By these mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice." The Lord here shows His wonderful care of this body. He is to raise it up in the transfiguration, and then it shall take on the form of His own glorious body.

The Lord therefore wants us to take very special care of these bodies. Often the mercies of God are passed by without notice. The physician comes and cures us, and we thank him, but never give the glory to God. I lately saw a circular advertisement of persons healed by a certain kind of medicine. I do not remember it now exactly, but one would thank the physician for curing her child, and another for saving her boy: all to men

and not a thought of God. This is wrong. These are the mercies of God. We were dead in trespasses and sin. But God wants a living sacrifice.

Man is to be sanctified after he is justified. God will take man all the way safe through without any smash up on this train. It took a perfect sacrifice for Christ to save us: his head crowned with thorns, his wounded hands, and his pierced side all bore witness. The whole man was in agony in every part so that he sweat great drops of blood.

We are to present our bodies holy. We are sorry to say depraved appetites have strong hold of some of God's dear children today. These appetites are not good for the body. Physicians will tell you that it would be a good thing if these bodies were kept purer. To do this we have got to give up a good many things.

"If any man defile the temple of God, him will God destroy," and again it says, "Flee fornication; every sin that a man doeth is without the body, but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." Can these things be done? Our want of power to resist is owing to indulgence and habit. Habit. You know how strong it is when it overcomes a man. The Devil says, "Quit smoking and I will make your head ache, make you cross, sick, spoil your dinner." God alone can give you the victory. This I tell you brethren and sisters, God means that our bodies shall serve him. I appreciate the value of the Resurrection when I remember that God wants our bodies as the temples of the Holy Ghost. We have no right to defile that temple for it belongs to God. Weak, unworthy, feeble as I am, God somehow or another, sees something in my body that he wants for His temple; wants it to be Holy, Holy, Holy.

We surrender ourselves at conversion, and are transformed into new creatures by the Holy Ghost.

There is a tendency to lower standards nowadays instead of bringing men up to the standard. We want to modify the truths of the Bible, make them less harsh. A general was once asked to order his men to fall back to where the standard bearer stood. "No," said he, "not an inch back. Bring up the standard." And so God says to us, and to all, don't fall back, but come up to His standard. God holds the fort and asks us to come up to it.

Some think sanctification is for deacons, preachers, elders, and class leaders. It is for you, for me. God needs to add but little after you are converted to sanctify you. If any thing were hard for God to do, it would be to convert a sinner.

"Be ye also ready." I was wonderfully converted. I can understand a part when I knew nothing before. There are many things I can't understand even now; but I believe God's word, and would if I didn't really understand a word of it! Sometimes people backslide. Should we quit the church for that? Do men quit business because other men fail in it? No. The Lord asks us, do you believe My word? And we should say, All of it Lord. And you will explain it to me when I come up there. It is the will of God that this should be so, that I should be a living sacrifice, good, acceptable, perfect, to Him. And then I'll have my rights under that will or I'll make a fuss over it (suppressed laughter). Some thought I was getting too much (laughter), but I went on. If this was the will of God and I was an heir of God, I wanted my full share of it. I know a case that the lawyers put in court some years ago, and they are lacing, lacing it, yes. The Devil is trying to cheat me out of my right, but I'll sue it out in the great court of Heaven.

Let us sanctify our lives through perfect faith, real living faith. Let us take this communion in that faith, and may we receive its full blessings.

"Be ye holy, as I also am holy." Nothing is absolutely perfect but God. Let Him be your standard.

Sources

Previously published literature about Amanda Smith consists of short biographical sketches and occasional references in general texts about black missionaries and Methodist women. Smith wrote an autobiography nearly twenty-five years before she died. Published in 1893, her autobiography was reprinted first in 1969 as part of a black history series and again in 1988 in the Schomburg Series on nineteenth-century black women's literature. Written to inspire, her autobiography is an incomplete, though vivid, portrait with limited aims. As literature it fits a contemporaneous genre of narratives, memoirs, and reminiscences written by women missionaries and preachers to depict their search for spiritual fulfillment, which Joanne Braxton has described as a quest for "power with God."

Although not intended as a work of history, Smith's autobiography provides basic information and many details, though not in chronological order. She often inserted unedited excerpts from her diary and made few attempts to discuss other events outside her own life. She did not attempt to establish historical context or explain psychological or social factors that may have affected her development. Although an invaluable guide to the historian, her autobiography can also create problems: her dates are sometimes inaccurate largely because she often relied on memory, and her spelling is frequently irregular. After she died, an abridged version of her book appeared, and Marshall Taylor wrote a separate account of her work in Liberia in the 1880s. She may also have written at least one pamphlet or inspirational book because publishers used her name to advertise "Lessons of Trust" in the June 16, 1892, edition of the *Christian Standard and Home Journal.*

From 1899 to 1913 Smith published a newsletter, *The Helper,* to publicize activities and raise money for the orphan home she operated in Harvey, Illinois. Two issues are available, one in the Booker T. Washington Papers at the Library of Congress and another in the Moorland-Spingarn Room in Founders Library at Howard University. Smith also kept a diary and conducted copious personal correspondence, the originals

of which the author failed to find. Most of her personal effects may have been destroyed in the fire that burned down the main building of the orphan home where she lived before retiring. Since she had planned to return after recovering her health, she may have left most of her belongings in Harvey. Hopefully, further research will uncover more of her papers and related documents.

Of the readily accessible sources, the most important are letters Smith wrote to friends and to the public that were printed in Christian newspapers, the most prominent of which is the *Christian Standard and Home Journal*, a publication of the National Holiness Association that was based in Philadelphia. The United Methodist Archives at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey, has a full collection of these volumes. Her letters and accounts of her testimonies and preaching also appear in *Guide to Holiness*, originally published by Phoebe Palmer and, after her death, taken up by her husband and his second wife. The *Ocean Grove Record* (Ocean Grove, New Jersey) published excerpts from sermons Smith delivered at Ocean Grove camp meetings and accounts of her testimonies. The *Christian Recorder*, the official organ of the AME Church, published accounts of her ministry and commentary from its editors about her work. The Frances E. Willard Memorial Library in Evanston, Illinois, has full copies of its official newspaper, the *Union Signal*, originally titled *Our Union*, which contains records of Smith's work with the WCTU, letters she wrote about her experiences, descriptions of her relationship with Frances Willard—longtime temperance leader and WCTU president—and Willard's comments about Smith. Other newspapers also contain accounts of her appearances as well as photographs and drawings, some of which vividly illustrate her mannerisms and style.

Further documentation about Smith and others mentioned in her biography came from collections available from the following historical societies: Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; Sebring Historical Society, Sebring, Florida; and the York County Historical Society, York, Pennsylvania.

The author also developed details about Smith's family life and the communities in which she lived from federal, state, and local census records; birth and death certificates; city directories; fire insurance maps; land records; tax records; court documents; and veterans' pension records. None of her marriage records was located, nor could marriage records for her daughter or death certificates for her mother or father be found. In some cases the records are not available because African-American

marriages were not recorded, the records were destroyed or misplaced, or, as in the case of her daughter, the marriage register only recorded the husband's name. When Smith died in 1915, the state of Illinois did not yet require death certificates, and Florida officials could find no record of her death in their archives. No records of her parents' deaths could be located in Pennsylvania at the time of inquiry. Perhaps these documents will be recovered at a later date.

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